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LITERARY INSTITUTION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

BY

EVELYN ELLERMAN ©

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DEDICATION

THIS DISSERTATION IS DEDICATED TO
THE COWBOYS AND REBELS WHO RAISED ME:

BERNICE RICHARDSON
GEORGE RICHARDSON
DON GILLESPIE
ALMA GILLESPIE
HAROLD RICHARDSON

ABSTRACT

This is a study of how western-style literary systems were transferred to Papua New Guinea (PNG) from 1967 to 1986, the time of decolonization in PNG. To a large extent, literary production in PNG remains tied to the institutional structures built during this period. These structures were modeled largely on literary institutions in Africa. In PNG, literature was deliberately fostered as a tool of nation-building; as a result, it faltered considerably once political independence seemed assured. These first two decades of literary life in PNG therefore offer an ideal opportunity for the study of literary genesis and change.

Two separate literary systems were created in PNG during those years. These "shadow" systems gave the appearance of being indigenous. However, they were both begun and shaped at every level by foreign change agents, who occasionally took on an indigenous voice to create the appearance of an indigenous input. Each of the systems operated in an almost mutually exclusive and highly parallel manner, creating similar institutions functioning in a similar manner. Between the two of them were several mediating agencies attached to the government. These agencies provided sites of contact and avenues for crossover.

The missions, which had always controlled education, created a populist system designed to support their vernacular literacy efforts. Most of the writers who participated in the mission-based system became journalists or wrote for the school system. The university created an elitist literary system using the colonial language. Many of its first writers became

dramatists; they were extremely successful because drama could be understood in relation to a pre-existing indigenous performance tradition. Their work was also supported by a strong network of radio stations. However the literary production of "high" art which relied on print media has had a chequered career at best.

There is no existing literary theory which can account for the transfer of literary institutions during decolonization. At present, however, there are several theoretical formulations that might inform the future construction of such theory. Siegfried J. Schmidt's framing of the literary system as the interplay of four actant roles is particularly suggestive for such a period of great change. Itamar Even-Zohar's notions of the roles of interference and transfer may be adapted to explain the literary traffic that occurs during this period in literary history. Milton Esman's detailed work on institution building during decolonization might provide the means for examining planned change where literature is concerned.

This study attempts to pull these loosely related notions together in order to describe and explain events in one part of the decolonizing world. As such it is less concerned with theory formation than it is with presenting the actual details of a particular literary system. One of the central premises of this dissertation is that theory construction for the so-called post-colonial literatures must be based on many such detailed studies. Only after understanding the specificity of new literatures first can we honestly attempt theory.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS DOCUMENT

Periodicals and Anthologies

BW	*Black Writing from New Guinea*
EALJ	*East Africa Literature Journal*
FNLN	*Friends of the National Library Newsletter*
KOV	*Kovave*
NGW	*New Guinea Writing*
NL	*Niugini Lives*
NLN	*National Library Nius*
NNGW	*New New Guinea Writing*
NW	*Night Warrior*
PIM	*Pacific Islands Monthly*
PNGW	*Papua New Guinea Writing*
Times	*The Times of Papua New Guinea*
VI	*Voices of Independence*

Institutions and Agencies

Governmental:

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
CCA	Creative Centre for the Arts
DES	Department of Extension Services
DIES	Department of Information and Extension Services
EALB	East Africa Literature Bureau
FNLS	Friends of the National Library Service
GBS	Government Broadcasting Service
IPNGS	Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies
NAS	National Arts School
NBC	National Broadcasting Commission
NBW	National Book Week
NCC	National Cultural Council
NLS	National Library Service
NRI	National Research Institute
NTC	National Theatre Company

Mission:

ACP	African Christian Press
CAVA	Centre for Audio-Visual Action
CPBA	Christian Publishers and Booksellers Association
CCC	Christian Communications Commission
CTC	Christian Training Centre
CWAMEL	Christian Writers Association of Melanesia
LMS	London Missionary Society
MCC	Melanesian Council of Churches
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
WEB	Word Educational Books
Word	Word Publishing

University/ College:

ERU	Educational Research Unit
FESTAC	World Black and African Festival of Arts and Cultures
GTC	Goroka Teachers College
PPP	Papua Pocket Poets
SPFA	South Pacific Festival of the Arts
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea

Theoretical

ESL	Empirical Science of Literature
IB	Institution Building Theory

GLOSSARY

expat - or expatriate; generally Australians, or other whites working in PNG for a fixed time on contract, or otherwise on a temporary basis.

going finish - the inevitable time when the expat finishes work and leaves PNG.

kina - PNG currency; at the time of Independence, the kina was on a par with the Australian dollar.

kesawaga - stylized dance from the Trobriand Islands in which dancers interpret drum language.

Tok Pisin - the major lingua franca in PNG, used throughout government and business circles and in everyday communication.

wantok - close or extended family relations; literally people who speak the same language.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA LITERARY SYSTEM: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM AND THE CONTEXT

It is not every day that a new national literature is deliberately created. After all, the national literatures of Europe appeared slowly, in tandem with the evolution of European nation states. But the twentieth century has been witness to a rather startling process of literary genesis that was both deliberate and intense. The period of worldwide decolonization that burned with an almost religious fervour for three decades after World War II produced an astonishing number of nation states and national literatures. One of these was in Papua New Guinea (PNG).[1] Beginning in 1967, colonial authorities conducted a decade-long campaign meant to assist them in establishing a viable country out of hundreds of distinct linguistic and geographic entities. Literature was seen as a potentially powerful tool for creating a sense of national unity in that country. In 1975, PNG would become one of the last places on earth to gain its independence from European colonialism. Its Australian administrators had begun decolonizing work grudgingly and late; repeated pressure from the United Nations in the early 1960s was forcing hasty action.

The question was how to go about creating an instant country. The answer seemed to lie in transferring to PNG the considerable expertise acquired during decolonization in other parts of the world. As a result, colonial authorities hired dozens of change agents (people who specialized in transferring western social institutions to newly independent states). Those agents with experience in literature accordingly tried to model the institutional structures of a Papua New Guinean literary system on those structures they were familiar with. The decolonizing model they generally drew from was African. The flaw in this model was that it tied the institutional structures of the literary system to the process of nation-building. It should come as no surprise, then, that literature faltered considerably once political independence had been achieved.

However, literature was supported for a further decade after Independence in PNG by the continued presence of many original change agents, whose literary activities were both visible and substantial from about 1967 to about 1986.[2] This initial 20 year period of literary production in PNG must therefore be understood in the context of decolonization, a twentieth century phenomenon which affords us a unique opportunity to examine both literary genesis and change. As exciting as such an examination might prove, it must currently be conducted in an almost total theoretical and methodological vacuum. There are, to begin with, few existing descriptions of any of the world's new literatures. Most critical studies of these new literatures are conducted within the framework of post-coloniality -- a position which assumes no space between colonialism and independence. In the case of PNG literature, this space, a decolonizing space, clearly exists. It was created and controlled by foreign change agents and the literary history of PNG must therefore include an analysis of the formative role they played. This dissertation is largely an investigation of that role: of the literary institutions foreign change agents tried to create and of the indigenous response to that effort.

What exactly did the agents of decolonization find when they arrived in PNG? A colonial history and a geography that was not African at all. It is somewhat of an understatement to say that PNG is characterized by diversity. Yet it was absolutely necessary for those change agents to grasp that fact in order for them to function in PNG. And an appreciation of that diversity is just as necessary for understanding PNG's subsequent literary history. The main island, from which the country derives its name, is the second largest island in the world. It was artificially split during colonization into territories governed by the Dutch (today this colony is called West Papua), the Germans (New Guinea), and the British (Papua). West Papua remains part of Indonesia. Papua and New Guinea and a number of nearby smaller island provinces form the country of Papua New Guinea, which obtained its independence in 1975. There are about 3,000,000 people living on these islands; 2,800,000 reside on the main island.

PNG's rugged mountainous terrain has created stunning cultural diversity among its peoples. Although the official language is English, people usually communicate using one of two lingua franca: most speak Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin) and a lesser number Hiri Motu. Because of the extremely rough landscape and the almost total absence of road and rail networks, the dispersion and isolation of these peoples one from the other is still a major factor of daily life. Contact with Europeans occurred as early as the sixteenth century, but settlement by missionaries did not come until the late nineteenth century. As a consequence, PNG was one of the last places on earth to encounter European colonialism in any organized fashion. The peoples of the interior highlands (now numbering about 1,000,000) saw no white man before the 1930s.

No significant colonial "development" took place until after World War II. That is, the colony enjoyed benign neglect for about 70 years on the part of the civil authorities. The effect of this indifference was to cede European presence to the missions. In fact the extraordinary power of the Western Church in this most Christian of all South Pacific island nations, was the central unifying factor during that time.

Decolonizing agents found, then, a country where the effects of colonialism were less severe than in places with two centuries of constant, invasive contact. Correspondingly the establishment of western-style social structures had a very recent and largely incomplete history. Therefore there were few structures in the country which could support a literary system. For instance, until the creation of the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) and Goroka Teachers College (GTC) in the late 1960s, no public tertiary education existed in PNG and precious little secondary education. Although there were newspapers, bookshops, and libraries, these existed mainly in coastal areas for the use of English-speaking colonials. Radio networks were fragmentary and controlled by foreign interests. What is more, islanders were racially segregated from whites. The geographic and linguistic fragmentation natural to the islands was thus compounded by colonial practice.

The literary change agents themselves occupied two separate and largely discrete domains of action, located within the purview of the missions and the university. These two spheres of activity gradually resolved into two separate literary systems. The first of these was centred in the Literature Department of UPNG and took its direction from two people: Ulli Beier and Prithvindra Chakravarti, both of whom arrived at the university in 1967. For over a decade, Beier had been involved in the decolonizing of Nigerian literature. He was to work on and off in PNG until 1978. Chakravarti, who stayed longer than any of the other original change agents, left for China in 1986. Together, these two men were responsible for establishing the country's first creative writing courses, the teaching of folklore and new literatures, all of the literary journals centred at the university until the mid 1980s, the first anthologies of PNG writing and the first series of folklore collections (the Papua Pocket Poets [PPP]). Their students were the first UPNG playwrights and the most prominent student activists of the period. In addition, Beier was the driving force behind, and the first Director of, the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS), an institution that pioneered the collection and preservation of PNG oral culture.

Drama at UPNG was encouraged by Peter Trist, who organized the first Drama Society there. Later, when Trist moved to the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), he provided a production venue for all PNG playwrights as director of radio drama.

Associated with the university system, but not controlled by it, were the activities of the creative writing and drama teachers at GTC. Greg Katahanas and Greg Murphy were instrumental in establishing Theatre Six at the College and later the Raun Raun Theatre Company, as well as the Pacific Playhouse Series of drama scripts, the *O Mama* and *Hey Now* anthologies and several other collections of folklore and creative writing.

Balanced against this university system was the literary activity centred at the ecumenical Creative Training Centre (CTC) at Nobonob. Its first Director was Glen Bays, a missionary and journalist with extensive experience in Africa. Bays arrived in 1970 to focus and formalize the teaching efforts of members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and others who had been teaching literacy and writing techniques in PNG as early as the mid 1950s. Between 1970 and 1985, Glen Bays spent a half dozen years in PNG setting the model within the mission system for the teaching of creative writing, establishing literary journals and newsletters, founding writers' clubs and a Christian writers' union, editing numerous ecumenical journals, directing a Christian communications network, and so on. His students formed the core of the first island-trained journalists.

Mediating between these two systems were a series of government agencies which provided writers' training, publishing and performance venues, and literary prizes. These agencies served as a meeting ground for those participants in the two literary systems who wished to cross systemic boundaries. And they provided a safety net whenever institutions of the two fledgling systems should fail (e.g. when journals and local publishers ran out of financing; when training centres closed, etc.) Originally housed with the Department of Information and Extension Services (DIES) and then under the umbrella of the National Cultural Council (NCC), these mediating government agencies -- the Literature Bureau, the Creative Centre for the Arts (CCA), the National Theatre Company (NTC), and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS) -- were crucial to the creation of a "national" literary aura. They provided the illusion of a unified national literary system, where in fact two separate and sometimes antagonistic systems existed.

II. LITERATURE AND COLONIAL SUB-CULTURE

The elusive nature of the PNG literary system is in large part the product of a failed technological trandsfer that occurred throughout the decolonizing world. The technology of writing had been introduced in the colonial school as a crucial tool for indigenous success. It was meant to assist the colonized in performing lower level tasks in administration and commerce. Writing had been introduced, then, as a technology of communication, not of literary expression. As the colonial world became a decolonizing world, the technology was further extended to assist in creating client nation-states. Much of this writing looked like literary self-expression. Some of it was. The technological transfer of writing, for practical purposes, when wedded to the transfer of nationalism, had produced a new social system. But somehow, in PNG, literature did not seem to work very well. Glen Bays, Director of the Creative Training Centre, remarked on this failure as he reviewed his decolonizing work in PNG. In an interview with me in 1993, he said:

> When I look back on it, I realize we brought them the wrong technology. What were we doing bringing writing to a people that had no use for it? If I were to go out there again, I would ask them what **they** wanted.

Why would a man query something so fundamental to his entire career? During his second tour in PNG Bays had witnessed the success of song, dance, and drama, but not of writing. He was not alone in his observations. The rank failure of agents of decolonization to establish and maintain a viable literature in PNG is obvious and suggestive. It calls to mind other chequered attempts to use literature as a tool for development during decolonization in Africa. It highlights the poorly understood genesis of literature in many former European colonies. It should encourage us to examine the mechanisms by which one literary system attempts to engender another.

Actually, to speak as though there were direct contact between the European literary system and the emerging ones in former colonies is misleading. As Bernard Mouralis (51ff) has made clear, the colonial world operated as a sub-culture artificially created and different qualitatively from that of the metropolis. Everything European was received through a filter designed to preserve economic and political domination. The ambiguity thus created for the colonizer was substantial. He represented a democratic model which he did not enforce. The methods of filtration were fairly general across the colonial world. Active segregation kept contact between colonizer and colonized to a minimum. Those aspects of European culture that would endanger domination were withheld: instruments of physical power, like fire-arms, bombing planes, poison gas; instruments of political mastery, like the right to vote, make war, or enjoy sovereignty; access to wealth through fair wages, or profit-sharing; the right to withhold labour, or own land; social and religious equality, etc.

The ideology that supported this sub-culture was institutionalized through education. Once again, as Mouralis shows, the filter operated very well. Education (contrary to European norms) was available to a very small number of the colonized. Teachers were mediocre; physical conditions were sub-standard. Programmes and diplomas were different from those in the metropolis, so that it was difficult for the colonized to achieve at the same level as his European counterpart, or outside the colony itself. Girls were not given the same opportunities for education as boys. Literary instruction was non-existent. Popular literature was used to help with language instruction, but no analysis of language or initiation into literary study was attempted. No theory was given. When taught to write, students were encouraged to use concise, business-like prose. The purpose in creating the educated indigene was to maintain the hierarchical and static colonial sub-culture: not to produce managers and leaders (i.e. replacements for

Europeans); not to promote social mobility. In other words, through education, as in all other areas of life, the indigene was permitted only those aspects of European culture that were useful for his own functioning as an instrument of the colony.

Not only did education serve as the prime mechanism for instituting colonial values and knowledge, it also served as the mechanism for denying indigenous knowledge and culture. Among the educated colonized, this system was largely successful in replacing their own culture with colonial sub-culture. The result was the creation of a new social class, the indigenous elite, who were irrevocably tied to that sub-culture, yet always denied full membership. In this gap, claims Mouralis, lay ambiguity for the colonized. There was no culture clash, or interference, just cultural substitution that flatly denied the existence of the native. There was no cultural borrowing, as all European models were imposed and simultaneously unachievable.

The effects of this process on literary creation were profound. Unless writers wished to emulate or endlessly caricature European literature they had one choice. Since pre-colonial society no longer existed for them, they needed to replace colonial sub-culture with one of their own making. They could only achieve this new culture in concert with economic and political change and with the support of the rest of colonial society. And in this they seemed at first to succeed; but then something happened. In PNG, many of these writers stopped writing. Things fell apart. This disintegration was what Glen Bays noticed when he returned to the country he thought he knew. It was a puzzle whose solution lay in the complex set of changes that occurred during the two decades of decolonization in PNG.

The question is how to understand literary change in this period that lasts from roughly 1967 to about 1986. Western-style literary systems like that of PNG are often described as "new," the idea being that they self-generate as a result of anti-colonial sentiment. At the same time, we recognize that systems of oral aesthetic expression pre-date colonialism and may still have the power to inform the "new" literary system (even though we can seldom describe just how that power manifests itself in intersystemic relations). The participation of an indigenous substrate in the "new" literary system thus compromises any notion of literary autopoiesis. And when we recognize that the literary system of PNG, and of many other former colonies, was not created by spontaneous combustion but as a deliberate and selective act by agents of decolonization, we are forced to re-assess our notions of "new" literatures altogether.

III. THEORETICAL TOOLS AND METHODOLOGY

Clearly any study of such literary systems must take into account the mechanisms of change. It would be helpful if we had recourse to a literary theory of change, but such a theory does not yet exist. Once a general theory of literature has reached some conclusions about the nature and form of literary life, it must establish a sub-theory of literary change which examines the origin and transformation of these forms. Western literary theory has only recently attempted such general theory. Its philosophical and conceptual ancestors lie in various systems theories, Russian formalism, the Prague School, etc. Because literary systems theory is so recent it can offer little to a study of literary change such as the one I propose. Yet a systemic approach seems appropriate where the invention of literary institutions in former European colonies is concerned. Accordingly my dissertation has a systemic bias and relies on a patchwork of borrowed and adapted concepts. But it is not grounded in any particular theoretical formulation. Even so, certain aspects of general literary systems theory are suggestive for the present study.

The most coherent and best developed theories are the work of Siegfried J. Schmidt (Empirical Science of Literature 1982 [ESL]) and Itamar Even-Zohar (Polysystems Theory 1990).[3] Each of these theoretical formulations regards literature as a relatively closed social system that is functional and dynamic. Neither theory has generated a fully-articulated methodology for the study of existing literatures, let alone the study of newly-created ones. Nevertheless, both theories are richly suggestive as a general framework for such study. At the same time, because of their problematic genesis and development, new literatures offer a fertile field for systemic investigation. For this reason, case studies of these literatures must inevitably contribute to the refinement and definition of the theories themselves.

A. The Empirical Science of Literature

Schmidt's model may be the most culture-bound and ultimately the least useful for describing indigenous literatures that develop in non-western, non-capitalist societies. In Schmidt's view, the object of study, literature as a social system, was created as part of the European Industrial Revolution. What is more, literature as a social system was a central component of the rise of the European nation-state. In fact, Schmidt argues that the literary system was a pre-condition of the nation-state. His call for the empirical study of literature is therefore genuinely tied to a specific cultural historical development. Indeed his very definition of a literary system must be understood in the same manner.

The application of such a theory to literature in a former colony is obviously difficult. In PNG, for instance, nationalism is an imported notion that has never fully succeeded. Barely 3,000,000 people are organized among hundreds of distinct ethnic groups in PNG. There is no other place on earth where the notion of a nation-state is so ambitious if not impossible. If literature has the necessary relationship with nationalism that Schmidt claims, its development under such conditions is as tenuous as that of national unity. If we describe such a system using Schmidt's framework, we are forced to see it as an incomplete, or failed system. And, so long as other key societal structures like the economy and the political system depend on or are controlled by foreign interests, the literary system (by Schmidt's definition) will also be dependent. Such an optic preserves dominance relations established under colonialism.

But more importantly, it inhibits significant exploration of phenomena on the margins of western literature.

The western bias of Schmidt's work is evident in another equally important way. His theory understands literature as a kind of communication and ultimately relies on the notion that literature is an action. The conceptual framework of the theory is organized around four action roles: producer, mediator, receiver, and post-processor.[4] The development of Schmidt's theory rests on the elaboration of these roles in a series of theory elements, or sub-theories. Action-, or event-based aesthetics have dominated the western literary tradition since Artistotle. In this cultural context, the premises on which Schmidt bases his theories of literary system seem appropriate. On the other hand, our knowledge of oriental aesthetic systems demonstrates the existence of widespread alternatives to event-based systems.[5] Given the multifarious non-western oral and written substrate that may inform "new" world literatures, theories based on action roles may prove completely inadequate.

However, my argument in this dissertation is that the first two decades of PNG literature represent a wholesale attempt to transfer a version of western literature, event-based bias and all. The period of literary decolonization, which began in 1967, was so dominated at every level by foreign change agents, that it is entirely appropriate to examine the new system from a western point of view.[6] Only after the departure in 1986 of Prithvindra Chakravarti, the last of the original change agents, can we begin to speak of a truly indigenous system. From that point onward, it becomes increasingly more instructive to operate from the indigenous, not the imposed conceptual framework.

Since the subject of this study is the period of active decolonization, I therefore accept the notion of four actant roles as a culturally appropriate strategy for a synchronic description of the system established by foreign agents. But my interest here is in the processes of change and innovation. Schmidt himself has several times indicated the need for his theory to account for literary diachrony: that is, for literary history. But this aspect of the theory remains unrealized. So, in order to account for the mechanisms of change, I have searched elsewhere.

B. Polysystems Theory

Itamar Even-Zohar's theory of literary polysystems focusses on sets of relations rather than on action roles. The most fully developed aspect of this theory with regard to systemic contact is the notion of the "interference" mechanism. Based on the theory of language contact, the notion of interference helps to explain why certain aspects of a foreign language will be assimilated while others are rejected; why and how one language will borrow from another, and so on. Even-Zohar has extrapolated from linguistic contact to literary contact. He asks, for instance, why the repertoire of one literature admits items (or entire repertoires) from another literature, when "authentic" repertoire is so crucial to systemic identity. The answer, he feels, lies in a set of dominance relations. A fully articulated literary polysystem represents the strong end of a spectrum. As the polysystem weakens, it becomes defective and may be unable to maintain its independence. At some point it may enter into a symbiotic relationship with other weak systems. Should the symbiosis fail, the systems may collapse completely.

The thread which holds this structure together is language. Even-Zohar's model for a literary polysystem is uni-lingual. Symbiotic systems are, by definition, multi-lingual. Even-Zohar admits that symbiotic systems may be more common in world literature. However, they are also less stable than uni-lingual systems. The balance of power in symbiosis is difficult to maintain. If the systems do manage to retain the symbiosis, they tend to homogenize, gradually eliminating what are considered to be foreign elements. Most new world literatures, however, exist in multi-lingual contexts; and the systems they belong to are a reflection of the polyglot societies they represent. From a linguistic point of view alone, then, the interference mechanism seems inadequate to describe the heterogenous linguistic reality of "new" literatures. Certainly PNG literature, which exists in English, Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and numerous vernaculars, is a case in point.

The most serious difficulty with the notion of interference lies with cases where no written literature existed before the introduction of a western literary system. In other words, in such cases there was nothing to interfere with. It may in some cases be appropriate to argue that the targeted system was the oral. But in the case of European colonialism, such interference did not often happen as the result of literary activity. For example, the Bible and other religious texts were translated into the vernacular, for purposes of religious domination, not as a literary interaction with the oral tradition. Interference in the oral system may then have occurred, but as a secondary product of the activities of another social system.[7]

If Even-Zohar's model is to apply to the description of a PNG literary system at all, we must consider his equally interesting notions of literary translation and transfer. Taking a small liberty with Even-Zohar's original discussion of the importance of literary translation, let me assign procedures of translation to intersystemic relations and procedures of transfer to intrasystemic relations and drop all mention of interference for the time being. Translation, by its very nature, implies boundary crossing, generally between languages. In the colonial situation, this would involve translation of Western texts into vernacular literatures. As mentioned above, such translation generally occurred as a religious activity, which occasionally generated secondary literary results. In PNG, there have been rare occasions where translation occurred within the realm of literature. Greg Katahanas and a few others have translated some Shakespeare and other western drama into Pidgin. But this was a deliberate attempt to demonstrate that an indigenous system using Tok Pisin would be aesthetically viable, if there were such a system.

The fact that literary translation from European languages into PNG vernaculars and pidgins is practically non-existent indicates that the system in PNG was viewed not as other than, but as an extension of, an existing Western system. Items therefore entered its repertoire by means of transfer, not translation. When the first creative writing and literature courses were being taught in the late 1960s, the English canon of Third World writing and European modernism was made instantly and almost exclusively available to the students. "Post-colonial" and folkloric texts from non-English speaking countries were also presented in English translation. Even-Zohar describes transfer as the process of moving "items of repertoire between centre and periphery involved with position shifts" (1990, 88). In the case of decolonization in PNG, the literary change agents were attempting to transfer those items which would in turn empower the new literature to become its own centre.

What is especially interesting about this process is that these same agents encouraged "interference" in the newly-created literature by means of the repertoire of the existing oral tradition. But they treated this interference as transfer, not translation. They assumed that oral texts translated into English (or Pidgin) would naturally inject indigenous content into the imported literary system. Missionaries, anthropologists, and university professors busily translated as many oral texts as they could and pushed islanders to do likewise. As an even stronger indigenous move, editorials in PNG's literary journals regularly called for submissions in Tok Pisin (as the lingua franca of the "new" system). Comparatively few texts were forthcoming. The English language had too much literary prestige. As a consequence, the Literature Competitions and the journals were swamped with poems, stories, and plays in English; most of these were actually literal translations of oral forms, but presented as western-style genres -- again, a kind of transfer through translation. What these foreign agents were trying to do was to treat intersystemic relations as though they were intrasystemic. That is, in an attempt to kickstart a literary system where none had existed before, they were prepared to pretend that the different technologies, languages, and aesthetics of the PNG oral vernacular and English written traditions were really of the same order. University students with literary training, but no connection to oral culture were sent off into the bush with tape recorders to collect, transcribe, and create from folklore. Foreign change agents wrote "native" texts under pseudonyms and assumed a native voice in editorials and in critical reviews.

The elegantly simple lines of Even-Zohar's interference model cannot cope with the needs of such a multi-lingual literary scene, especially during the rapid changes of decolonization. The uni-directional traffic implied by interference is neither descriptive nor explanatory in these circumstances. As the above brief outline of some of PNG's literary dynamics demonstrates, notions of source and target literatures become very muddy indeed in cases where literature is being instituted, transferred and translated all at once.

However, Even-Zohar's conceptual framework does contain several ideas that appear very suggestive for the complex literary relations in such new systems. To begin with, the processes of change during decolonization clearly involve a more tangled network of inter- and intra-systemic relations than might at first seem likely. When wedded to the more fluid notions of transfer and translation, this polysystemic activity can be analyzed and explained. Yet Even-Zohar's theoretical formulation has not moved much further in this regard than a plea to develop and extend older, more rigid applications to literary translation. And, because he has focussed so lucidly on interference in some literary situations he has paid scant attention to transfer in others. As I have suggested already, the principal means of establishing literature in PNG appears to be transfer. Therefore, in my raiding tour of existing theory, I now come to consider sociological theories which dedicate themselves to questions of transfer, and to questions of institution-building.

C. Sociological Theories of Change

1. General framework

The theories of both Schmidt and Even-Zohar are substantially informed by sociological theory. It is therefore useful at this point to note sociological analogies to their literary formulations. Of the various general types of sociological theory, social behaviourism, which includes social action theory, best approximates Schmidt's position with respect to literary communication. Social behaviourism regards social structures as complex arrangements of individual acts performed within the sphere of specific actant roles, like leadership. The acts themselves can be imitative, or innovative. Change results from innovation and can be identified by investigating culture. Culture is defined as the accumulated products of a given society.

Not surprisingly, sociological theorists of action discuss innovation in processual terms: cause, agency, target, agent, strategy and channel.[8] A cause is an objective or undertaking that change agents believe will solve a problem.[9] For example, development might be a cause intended to bring a technology to the colonized as a means of helping them participate more fully in the modern world. A change agency is an organization whose prime mission is to further a cause. In this case, the agency might be the European-dominated Department of Education bringing the technology of writing to islanders. The change target is the subject of these efforts: for instance, high school students. Part of the agency's purpose may be to *create* a target group which will be cohesive enough to advance or even replicate the programme. In PNG an educated elite was created at UPNG. These "enhanced" targets were meant to continue the drive toward development.

A change agent is meant to effect the objective, serving as a link between two or more systems. This may be an expat teacher bringing both the technology of writing and the example of African anti-colonial literature to the classroom. Change agents tend to have more relations with the elite than with other members of the indigenous population. Frequently there are several agents representing different agencies in competition with each other. The resulting role conflict can destroy the credibility of respective projects. There are a number of types of relationship that can obtain between agent and target.

Reciprocal relationships allow them to influence one another in a consultative, co-operative manner. Homophily is the relation resulting from agents and targets treating members of each other's group equally. While homophily presents the illusion of equality, it may ignore crucial differences of age, ethnic background, philosophical orientation, etc. Empathy relations occur when agent and client transcend actant roles to develop interpersonal contact. Empathy relations represent a variable of innovation that is difficult to include in an empirical study. Credibility relations result when the agent and client view each other as competent and trustworthy.

Channels constitute the means by which agents and targets influence and respond to one another. This may be through creative writing courses, literary journals, writers clubs, and conferences, etc. Change strategy is the mode of influence adopted by the change agent to reach the change target. This may be through coercion, persuasion, education, etc. Ideally this strategy appeals to the change targets' values and beliefs in such a way that he accepts and assimilates the innovation.

Gerald Zaltman's discussion of these elements of social change implies a uni-directional process: from the change agent to the target; from the powerful to the powerless, etc. However, no one could describe the people of PNG as passive recipients of European culture. They have resisted, rejected, adapted, and assimilated according to their own requirements. Whiteman's discussion of change theory from the point of view of the change target suggests that the dynamics of change between earlier colonialism and its late phase, decolonization, are anything but uni-directional (7ff). My own analysis of PNG's literary system confirms Whiteman's observations and therefore employs Zaltman's model in an expanded version.

During post-World War II decolonization, most of the southern hemisphere underwent rapid and often catastrophic change. It is by now accepted that decolonization embodied a particular type of change -- a transfer of the Western concept of the nation-state and of "modern" society.[10] Colonies, by definition, were not immediately able to receive and implement these concepts. Accordingly, colonial administrations developed action plans to install them. Their plans were to be realized through the transfer of western-style institutions and technologies. Of necessity, the instruments of transfer were not at first indigenous. But massive attempts were made during decolonization to indigenize the process as much as was practical.

The most salient feature of the first 20 years of PNG's literary system is this overwhelming presence of planned change. Indeed, the entire process of decolonization in PNG occured as a foreign and intentional phenomenon. There was no local educated elite pushing for Independence. There was no concerted grassroots revolt against colonial injustice. Until the end of the War, the Australian Administration had very little interest in the colony at all. But repeated external pressures from the United Nations over a 15-year period gradually galvanized the Australians into action. The decolonization period was meant to be slow and orderly. However, as happened in other colonial outposts, the rate of change soon became nearly unmanageable.

From a purely literary point of view, decolonization began with creative writing courses in the late 1960s. The university-based system provides a useful example. UPNG had sought out scholars from the British Commonwealth who would be willing to serve as academic pioneers in the establishment of the new institution. An existing pool of western academics, most of whom had already participated in the decolonization of Africa, was immediately available. These scholars descended on PNG with a certain liberal democratic ideology and, in most cases, with particular strategies for action. They were the cup-bearers of technological knowledge -- they knew how to help people become skillful in the vocation of writing. They were also professional trailblazers -- they knew the way to establish "new" literary systems in the cause of nation-building. If we base our description and analysis of this new system on Schmidt's four actant roles: producer, mediator, receiver, and post-processor, and if we apply Zaltman's six change elements to the establishment of those roles, we begin to understand many of the dynamics of literary genesis and transformation in PNG.

Now, what do we have?: dots (functional positions) on a literary map with certain connections (relations) among them. We could further extend this map with an elaboration of the relations that obtain between agency and agent, between agent and target, and so on. When we do this in an organized way, we are entering the realm of Even-Zohar's theory of literary polysystems. Like Schmidt's Empirical Science of Literature, Even-Zohar's theory also has its sociological analogues. His theory of literary polysystems suggests a combination of sociological formalism, where social life can be analyzed in terms of social relations (or forms); and functionalism, a sort of up-dated organicism that regards the system as creating its own equilibrium. Formalism has a synchronic bias; essentially, it ignores social change. Functionalism is a systemic concept which accounts for change using notions of intrusion, or boundary breaking. These disturbances require the self-regulating system to create a new equilibrium.[11] One would therefore expect that a general literary theory with a functional bias would concentrate on mechanisms of interference and adjustment; that is, how change arrives and how change is accommodated, or assimilated. Furthermore, such a general literary theory must account for endogenous as well as exogenous disturbances. As I have suggested above, the elements for a model of literary change currently exist within Even-Zohar's theory, in the notions of transfer and translation.

2. Institution-building theory

By far the richest field for investigation of literary transfer is the study of literary institutions.[12] The colonial world, as Mouralis describes it, specialized in a particular kind of institutional transfer. European society was mined for those social systems that would serve the engine of the colonial enterprise. Chief among these was education. As colonialism turned into decolonization, an additional system was transferred

-- literature. Any study of these new literary systems immediately confronts the phenomenon of institution. All literary actant roles were as formally organized as possible. Governmental, educational, and non-governmental agencies controlled (or tried to control) every aspect of literature -- from the teaching of literacy, to creative writing courses, to institutional publication and broadcast, to bookclubs and writers unions. The study of new literary systems must therefore begin with the institutions, which were often in place before any writing actually existed.

The theory which best describes and explains such decolonizing institutional transfer from a sociological point of view is Institution-Building theory (IB), developed by Milton Esman and others during the 1970s and 1980s.[13] The need to understand and better organize aid efforts during decolonization became immediately apparent to policy-makers and planners in the west. The initial hurdle was to make technical assistance relevant to local needs. The next was to ensure long-term benefit. The IB approach outlines the attempt by these change agents to construct a workable model of planned social change. The theory was constructed within this framework. It is based on the conviction that systems model transfer is the only way that development programmes can survive once foreign aid ceases.

Milton Esman was the architect of Institution-Building theory. As he states in his 1972 essay, the predominant theme of the theory is innovation and its effect on norms, behaviour patterns, individual and group relationships, as well as on its role in creating new perceptions of means and goals. The goal of IB is to produce "change-oriented elites who will work through formal organizations." Using this strategy, Esman claims innovation can be accepted, become normative, and finally institutionalized. While Esman argues that IB can be applied to any sector of society, it is only meant to accommodate planned change. Random processes, revolutionary action, and coercion do not form part of the model. Within this theoretical framework, institution is a "change-producing and change-protecting formal organization." Institution-building:

> may be defined as the planning, structuring, and guidance of new or reconstituted organizations which (a) embody changes in values, functions, physical, and/or social technologies, (b) establish, foster, and protect new normative relationships and action patterns, and (c) obtain support and complementarity in the environment. (Esman 22)

The concepts Esman proposes for the model are those of institutional linkage and variable. The variables are organized into five clusters: leadership, doctrine, programme, resources, and internal structure. Leadership refers to those people actively involved in formulating doctrine and programme and who organize its operations and environmental relations. Esman considers leadership to be the most important variable in IB. Doctrine specifies values, goals, and operational methods. It expresses these themes within and outside the organization. Programme translates doctrine into patterns of action and allocates the resources of the institution. The mobilization and maintenance of resources is an important concern of any institution's leadership. The institution's ability to carry out programmes is affected by its internal structure. This structure refers to the distribution of roles within the institution, to patterns of internal authority and communications systems, and to the commitment of personnel to doctrine and programme.

In addition to the five clusters of variables are the linkages, or interdependences, established between the institution and the rest of society. These linkages are coded exchanges that follow a set of rules. When these codes are compatible, transfer takes place. According to Esman the institutionalized organization must:

> maintain a network of exchange relationships with a limited number of organizations and engage in transactions for the purposes of gaining support, overcoming resistance, exchanging resources, structuring the environment, and transferring norms and values. (23)

Landau writes that the mapping of these linkages is the "strategic consideration in the analysis of the institution-building process," requiring careful analysis of the codes involved (95). The strategies employed by institutional leadership to manipulate and accommodate these linkage relationships is especially interesting to the present study of institutional genesis in PNG. The leadership is readily identifiable and the strategies they employed were overt and deliberate.

Esman outlines four types of linkage: enabling, functional, normative, and diffused. These linkages seem to be hierarchical and dynamic. That is, at any given time one linkage may dominate others, or several may operate at once, according to need. Briefly, enabling linkages allow an institution to make space for itself within society. They enable the institution to marshall the resources it needs to function. The enabling conditions will vary with the colonial situation, but in PNG they involve language status, educational financing, and literacy training. Functional links establish the recognizable programmes of the institution and its relations with other institutions. In PNG, functional linkages are developed with the formation of literary systems and government mediating bodies. Their transactions involve the inception and management of literary competitions, writers training courses, literary journals, publishing venues, writers unions, and so on.

Normative linkages are those relations between the institution and relevant institutions of the broader society. Normative links secure the norms and values of the institution within its environment. In the case of literature in PNG these complex links demonstrate the effects on literature of decolonizing idealism and the attempts by literature to create its own norms and values apart from that idealism. Diffused links constitute credibility relations established with the general public through the distribution of literature. In PNG this is the most incompletely realized set of relations yet it is, in many ways, the most suggestive for the future direction of PNG literature.

Milton Esman's IB theory developed beyond description to the point of inference formulation and hypothesis testing. Hypotheses formulated by Esman's group regarding institutional change and development are suggestive for the study of new literary institutions (Eaton *Institution Building* 144-147; Eaton "Guidelines" 137-148). But consideration of their validity for new literatures must wait until enough descriptive case studies exist. The processes of colonialism and decolonization around the world were many and varied. It would be imprudent to extrapolate very far on the existing evidence at this point. Even so, Esman's model is obviously useful for the present task, although certain limitations of the model must be noted.

Esman's linkages form part of a positive, action-oriented model which does not readily accommodate phenomena like competition between institutions (for example, when existing institutions siphon off resources intended for innovative institutions), resistance to linkage formation by established institutions, and so on. Within Esman's systemic model, such phenomena must be seen as dysfunctional. A more balanced picture of the IB process should accommodate the complexities of reciprocity and resistance. In my own study of institutional linkages in PNG literature, I have tried to be sensitive to the issue of reciprocity, which is central to the study of any literary system formed during decolonization. My second concern is a general one that arises from any systemic study of literature, but which applies particularly to the current undertaking. The linkages discussed below are mostly the visible ones, those that constitute the **reported** network of relations among individuals, groups and institutions. Less visible and less accessible is the network of **personal** links that is so crucial to the existence of any institution. My study is therefore only partly descriptive of the whole. Since most of the actors discussed here are still alive, some of those personal links may yet be recoverable. Whenever I could include this material, I have; in cases where I could infer such links, I have indicated as much.

What sort of theoretical and methodological constraints does this heterogeny of literary and sociological theory impose on the study of literary institutions in new systems? In the first place it suggests a relatively open, self-regulating system. The PNG literary system is itself composed of two relatively autonomous systems and of a number of sub-systems. The two most fully articulated systems have their institutional and normative basis in the university and the missions, respectively. The repertoire of these systems is largely autonomous, although there is some crossover by writers who feel open to the ideologies of both. Each of these systems suffers near collapse whenever key foreign change agents and resources leave the country. Each represents a wholly imported system which has never been well received and which could not exist were it not supported from off-shore. I have therefore called these the "shadow" systems. They are illusory in that they seem complete and functional when they are not.

Duality is a recognizable feature of post-colonial literature which manifests itself in theme, characterization, figurative language, and the like. As Mouralis and others have demonstrated, the pre-conditions for that duality reside in the colonial fact.[14] It is not surprising then to discover that the PNG literary system exhibits that same duality. It produced something everyone took to be a literary system based in the university. It produced a parallel system based in the missions.

In varying degrees each of these failed when the push for nationalism had dissipated and the change agents had all left. The roots of these systems can be traced to the tension between the indigenous and the foreign in PNG society, in particular to the conflicting goals and administrative structures of the public education system.

The dissertation further suggests that this system constitutes a set of processes that are functionally interdependent. At the same time it accepts that the system can be purposefully generated through planned change, or institutional transfer. Consequently the system can be seen as existing or changing over time as a function of its own needs and relations with other social systems. This transfer is wholly effected by foreign change agents operating within ideologically determined parameters. The transferred institutions can be regarded as defining those normative patterns that lead to legitimate literary actions and relations. Therefore each institution tends to concentrate on a given actant role, which in turn determines the type and extent of its linkages.[16] Finally, the study must regard the reciprocal relationships maintained by the literary institutions with their environment as most profitably analyzed at their points of exchange or linkages.
Each of these chapters is devoted to the exploration of an institutional linkage. The description and analysis of those institutions and linkages illustrates how the planned institutional transfer of literature was effected by change agents and how institutions, groups, and individuals tried to fulfill the four actant roles of a literary system. As well, each of the chapters is

framed by an introduction and summary which discusses and elaborates themes and theoretical concepts. The concluding chapter does not summarize the summaries, but moves beyond them to muse over the applicability of western-based theory for such a venture.

In other words, the transfer of institutions in PNG did not work because the literary institutions never became institutionalized.[16] As well as creating two shadow systems, decolonization created the mediating literary agencies of the Administration and the independent Government of PNG. Institutions like the Literature Bureau and the CCA tried to serve as a meeting ground for all writers in PNG, a sort of system-neutral facilitator to all the actant roles. The six chapters which follow this introduction accordingly map out as positions on an imported ideological chessboard the goals and strategies of these two systems and of their official mediators.

Chapter One concerns itself with the decision made by colonial authorities in PNG to establish English as the language of communication, and to establish writing as its means. In the 1960s, this decision would provoke debates over the usefulness of English, Tok Pisin, and vernaculars in schools. And the debates themselves would define the three future sites of literary activity in PNG: the government, the mission, and the university. Taken together, the language debates of the 1960s and 1970s, the legislation and policy that addressed those debates, the campaign for literacy training, and the establishment of literacy periodicals demonstrate the continuing attempts of literary change agents to garner the resources that would enable the establishment of literary institutions.

Chapters Two and Three focus on the institutional structures that were actually created to support creative writing in PNG. They attempt to outline the functional, or programme links, operating between the two literary systems. They also attempt to demonstrate where there is crossover and where there is aversion. Chapter Two takes as its subject the role the government assumes in trying to establish a national literature. It treats the failure and degradation of that project into a number of auxiliary programmes and institutions. The chapter also outlines the relations the mission-based system had with those government bodies. And finally, the chapter describes the inauguration of the chief institutions and functional linkages of the mission system itself. Chapter Three describes in detail the establishment and development of the university-based system and its shifting relations with the government and the missions. In addition, it sketches out relations between the university and some non-aligned institutions as a means of suggesting the complexity of functional relations within the larger whole.

Chapters Four and Five examine the related, yet ideologically specific, themes that define the employment of literature by the three change agencies. To what purpose did the agencies put literature? Did those purposes change over time? Were those agencies successful in their vision for literature? This analysis of norms and values also considers the nature of the change agencies themselves and the roles they sought to play in the nation-building game of the 1960s and 1970s.

The sixth chapter ponders the diffusion of literature in PNG. It examines how well literature has been received by the change targets, the people at whom all this activity was directed. It describes what is popular among islanders and what is merely tolerated. In addition, Chapter Six outlines some areas where native cultural institutions have survived and flourished despite colonialism and decolonization.

The Conclusion moves from the description of the previous six chapters to a consideration of current trends in criticism and theory. It not only speaks to those trends, but suggests alternate methods of approaching the new national literatures established during decolonization.

NOTES - INTRODUCTION

1. Since no literature was produced during the colonial period and, since the German tenure in New Guinea was so short, ending with World War I, I shall treat the colony as a single unit. Suffice it to say that British (and then Australian) activity in New Guinea was very limited until World War II. Any structures put into place had more effect on the Papuan side. But, on the whole, that too was minimal. For those readers who wish to understand the colonial past of PNG as it establishes pre-conditions for writing after the War, consult Bernard Minol's doctoral thesis, listed in my bibliography.

2. These dates are abitrary in that I have used them to rough out the most active period of literary decolonization. They represent the arrival and departure dates of Prithvindra Chakravarti, the literary change agent with the longest tenure in PNG.

3. It is not my intention here to fully assess, outline, or discuss the general plan of these theories. This has been done by others. See, for example, Tötösy 1992; Dimic and Garstin 1988; Wirrer 1984; Verdaasdonk 1992; etc. The application of systems theory to the study of literature is by now well enough established that I will confine my comments to their applicability in the proposed case study.

4. These roles need little elaboration here except to say that mediation is meant to include all manner of literary promotion, distribution, publishing and so on. Post-processing differs from reception in that another text is produced, perhaps a book review, or a critical essay. In other words, the action roles define how literature is created, published and distributed, read and understood, and finally, evaluated.

5. For example, Sanskrit poetics relies not on event, but on evocation of specific affects, called *rasa*. As a result, Sanskrit drama focusses on states rather than on actions; the plot (or action sequence) is given less prominence than the thematic development. The corresponding development of characterization, setting, and of dramaturgy in general is

substantially distinct from the classical Greek dramatic tradition. See Dimock and Miner for a discussion of this phenomenon.

6. Analysis of the texts within the system and produced by indigenous writers proves this point. Contemporary critical reviews often discuss the inability or refusal of indigenous texts to accord with Western aesthetic norms. Writers participate in the foreign system knowingly and sometimes unwillingly. Their own commentary on the system reveals how inappropriate it was, how inapproriate the technology of writing was, and how confused they were about the future (See especially Waiko in Chapter 1).

7. Missionaries have documented throughout the South Pacific how Christian elements have made their way into oral genres (particularly local myth) in this way.

8. This summary is extracted from Zaltman but is available from numerous sources.

9. It is not accidental to note that problem-identification was, and often still is, the prerogative of these foreign agencies and agents. In fact it is entirely appropriate to query the use of these Eurocentric theoretical constructs. Does not social action theory imply exactly the same uni-directional dominance relations as Even-Zohar's notion of interference? The answer, of course, is: yes. The justification lies in the basic premise. Interference does not describe a situation like that in PNG, where there was no pre-existing system. Change, on the other hand, does describe the process of decolonization. The inception of literature in PNG in 1967 was innovatory, organized and, ultimately, Eurocentric.

10. See Chamberlain, and Gifford and Louis.

11. There are cartloads of works on social action theory, formalism and functionalism. Some of these are included in my bibliography; Tötösy provides a useful synthesis of this background material from a literary perspective; Zaltman does the same from the point of view of sociology.

12. The French, Belgian and Québécois research into literary institutions are especially instructive here. Although no extended formal theory exists for literary institution, see Lemire, Robert, Dubois, Melançon, Giroux, and Leclercq for seminal work in this area.

13. For a survey of this field see Blaise 1986; for detailed theoretical and methodological considerations see Eaton 1972; for applications of the model see Thomas et al., 1972.

14. See Mateso; Adam and Tiffin; and Ashcroft et al. for other discussions of duality.

15. For example, the Summer Institute of Linguistics concentrates heavily on literacy training and entry-level writers training. Accordingly it has focussed almost exclusively on enabling links for four decades.

16. This is a very important phenomenon to account for. Do all new literatures develop competing literary systems? Are they all foreign- transferred and controlled at first? How does evidence for the existence of these two systems affect our definition of "post-colonialism"? How does it affect canon formation among the new literatures? How does evidence for the process of transfer affect our notions of what decolonization was all about?

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LITERACY: COLONIAL EDUCATION AND THE ROOTS OF LINGUISTIC DUALITY

I. INTRODUCTION: ENABLING LINKS

Milton Esman's Institution Building theory describes four types of linkage that must be established if a new institution is to be successfully transferred during decolonization. The first of these are the enabling links. These are the interactions that provide the new institution with access to necessary resources and then to authority. They may involve the provision of funding, the choice of a literary language, the promotion of literacy training, the teaching of literature in schools, and the like. If they are strong enough, these linkages may be used to protect the institution from attack. But they must allow the institution some space to develop before it is required to deal with other social institutions on its own. For example, new cultural institutions must have obtained a wide network of financial resources before a government makes drastic cuts to the culture budget. There is no reason to expect enabling links in colonial settings to replicate those interactions which originally enabled literary institutions in Europe and elsewhere. Furthermore, there is no reason to expect enabling linkages in all colonies to be identical. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the colonial fact may generate some similarity amongst the world's new literary institutions. For example, the establishment of any social institution in a colony must, by definition, involve substantial participation by government.

In PNG, establishing enabling linkages first meant transferring the technology of writing to an oral culture; that is, transferring the means of cultural expression to a new technology. Very few people understood then (or understand now) how complex a task that is. The assumption seems to have been that it just involved writing narratives down, as if the technology of art were completely transparent, as if language were just as transparent. This transfer took place within an existing social institution -- colonial education. Therefore in order to further cement its resources and authority as complementary to, yet distinct from, that institution, literature had to engage the active goodwill of educational authorities. This set of interactions has never been officially established. That is, literature was never able to employ education as one of its own institutions. To this day, literature is not a subject on the PNG school syllabus. There have been, however, many individual change agents and agencies whose interest in local literature has kept the possibility of indigenous literary institutions alive. At times some of these individuals and agencies have gained enough power to provide the illusion of a viable literary system. But the illusion has never been sustained for long. At the heart of this failure of change agents to successfully enable literary institutions is the long-standing debate in PNG over the language of education. Out of that debate have arisen the three blocks of literary activity in the country: those activities initiated by government agencies, those by missions, and those by the university. A brief examination of the language debate in PNG demonstrates the dynamics of their interrelations.

II. THE ADMINISTRATION AND ENGLISH

It seems absurd to speak of linguistic duality in a country of 869 languages (Malone 1990, 10). But colonialism, with its propensity for binary oppositions, has managed to organize questions of language in terms of European and non-European polarities. In Papua New Guinea, the language debate in education therefore revolves around whether or not English is used in lower levels of public education. If English is not used, another choice exists but is considered less crucial; that is, the choice between vernacular languages or Pidgin.[1]

The duality that characterizes the language debate has its roots in a particular colonial institution -- education. At the beginning of education, though, there appears no cause for debate, because there is only one agent involved in schooling. From 1873, when the London Missionary Society first established a literacy programme and teacher training facility in Port Moresby, until the second World War, delivery of education in the colonies of Papua and New Guinea fell to the various missions by default. The colonial authorities had neither the interest nor the resources to administer or finance schools.[2] By 1940, for instance, the administration operated only 6 schools, while the missions ran close to 2500 (Weeks and Guthrie 35).

One reason for administrative non-involvement was the general colonial attitude toward the intelligence level of

Papuans, coupled with a strong desire to maintain control. In a 1912 despatch to his minister, Administrator J.H.P. Murray articulated what would constitute his own attitude during the four decades of his career:

> I do not think that we should attempt to give the Papuan anything in the nature of a higher education, nor do I think that we should ever dream of conferring upon him any political rights. He is inferior to the European and, if we wish to avoid trouble, we should never forget this, and should never look upon him as a social or political equal. (Murray in Dickson 1970, 17)

The other reason for administrative non-involvement in education was the underfunding of the colony itself. By 1917, Hubert Murray was willing to support education in suitable trades, especially in agriculture, but only if this education were financed through a native taxation scheme (Dickson 1970, 20ff). The indigenous population, which viewed a European education as magically efficacious in producing wealth, supported the tax wholeheartedly. The revenues so far exceeded Murray's expectations that he was able to use the funds generated to subsidize mission education. There were two stipulations made: the education had to be in English and the students had to pass examinations.

However, there were problems with this simple plan. So great was the revenue from the taxation and so modest were Murray's expectations regarding indigenous schooling that he felt justified in bleeding off 70% of that revenue to fund health care projects and public works. As a natural result, the mission schools were inadequately funded. Another even more devastating effect of Murray's practice was that Papuans would now receive examination-based teaching. The government had thus abandonned the indigenous population to an unstandardized, under-funded education in a foreign language provided by poorly paid, underqualified teachers.

Other colonial models might have been applied. Murray was certainly aware of the success of Nigerian education under the policies of Lord Lugard. In Nigeria the subsidy was allotted only after a complex assessment had been conducted of the curriculum, teacher training, and so on. But Murray rejected this scheme, as he felt Papuans to be inferior in ability to Nigerians and the Papuan colony to be less developed than the Nigerian (Dickson 1970, 30). Had Murray more faith in the indigenous population, the results for literature might have been very different. As it was, English was used as a resource for an education system that was agriculturally-based, with a slight nod in the direction of the lowest levels of the trades and commerce. And the colonial laissez faire policy meant that islander cultural systems were less damaged than their African counterparts.

The emphatic requirement that English be the language of instruction had its roots in Australian racism and general xenophobia, according to John Lynch (15ff). Lynch claimed that the English language was not used as a linguistic resource for transmitting information and knowledge, but as an end in itself. He felt that this practice was rooted in Australian racism: "There were fairly clear indications from at least the European population, and also from the government, that it would be dangerous to educate Papua New Guineans at all" (16). The insistence on English also had its genesis in Australian ethnocentrism -- a world view which regards everyone who does not speak English as "bloody foreigners." The existence of the racist monthly magazine *Black and White* (Port Moresby 1966-69) indicates just how strong this prejudice was (Richstad 1984, 212). Lynch wrote that these cultural attitudes produced a deep prejudice against vernaculars, which were not regarded as "true" languages at all, since they had no written tradition. At most the vernaculars served a practical function as vehicles for service messages from the government. Any money spent on including them in education was wasted. Even more vehement was the Administration's attitude toward the lingua franca. These were simply mongrel forms of English and should be replaced as quickly as possible with proper English.

A selection of comments by Administration officials over nearly half a century (in Lynch 17) indicates how deeply-seated this bias toward English remained:

> The superiority of English to any New Guinea language is so great it is obviously to the advantage of the native to acquire it as quickly as possible; and if we do not teach it to him we are hardly carrying out the duties or [sic] our 'sacred trust.' (Murray 1924)
>
> The ability to speak, and better still to read, the superior tongue will open the gate to far wider fields of experience and knowledge; it will provide for the development -- to what limits we cannot foresee -- of the intellectual powers which, however hidden at present, we must assume the native to possess. (Williams 1935)
>
> There is no education until the people have a knowledge of English ... Teach them English, English, and more English; this is what they want. (Gunther 1958)

> I believe, realistically, we must campaign massively for English as a unifying language. ... English must be the unifying language of Government and Education. ... I believe this means a trebling of our present educational expenditure. (Beazley 1968)

In his policies then, Hubert Murray, who administered the colony from 1906-1941, represented the paternalistic and racist attitudes of most Australian expats. However, his model for education conformed quite clearly to that outlined by Bernard Mouralis as typical of colonial education. The bonus for "literature" in Papua New Guinea and for the survival of the vernaculars was that Murray applied the model indifferently. He simply did not monitor what the missions were actually up to. In this way, colonial sub-culture was not as invasive or as destructive as it might have been had he followed Lord Lugard's Nigerian proposals.

In fact, Murray felt that there was a real possibility of some sort of combination of the two (i.e. European and non-European) cultures, but very gradually over time. The Colonial Development Acts that began in 1929 set all English-speaking colonies on what was envisaged to be a slow evolutionary path for primitive peoples. Writing came to be regarded as a tool for development. In an innovative experiment, Murray decided to guide this change by hiring an anthropologist who would both study the Papuan cultures and serve as a bridging figure between colonizer and colonized, explaining each to the other. The man he hired was F.E. Williams. The vehicle for this bi-cultural communication was to be a monthly tabloid called *The*

Papuan Villager. Both the periodical and Williams' position were funded from moneys siphoned away from the education tax.

A. *The Papuan Villager*

Francis Williams edited *The Papuan Villager* from 1929-1941. He used the tabloid as a long-term experiment of a particular kind of change theory: the blending of two cultures. In Williams' view, the change agent (or advocate) must maintain what works in the indigenous culture; eliminate those elements that prevented the blend; and expand the indigenous cultural world with creative borrowing from the European (Whiteman 10-12).

Because of its socializing purpose, *The Papuan Villager* could provide no foundation for a literary tradition, although all the elements for literary production were there: at least the illusion of them was there. *The Papuan Villager* provided for publishing and distribution: the tabloid was given freely to all mission schools and sold by very reasonable subscription rates otherwise. The contents were varied and interesting: simplified versions of local and international news and sporting events, helpful hints about gardening; tips on understanding the white man's ways; written versions of Papuan folklore. Williams tried to encourage Papuan authorship by appointing local correspondents and by paying for literary submissions.[3] Criticism and editorial advice were supplied by Williams himself, often in the printed text: "This story was done in specially good hand-writing" (Schild 68).

Indigenous response to *The Papuan Villager* was unenthusiastic. Most submissions were re-tellings of oral tales, or the occasional autobiographical note, all of which were heavily edited by Williams for space. Subscriptions throughout the history of *The Papuan Villager* remained low. Of the 788 copies sold in 1938, 100 went to Europeans and most of the rest to mission schools (Schild 68). Shortly after *The Papuan Villager* had ceased to function, anthropologist and educator Camille Wedgewood, who reported on Papuan schools from 1945-47, said her informants were uninterested in the journal (Dickson 1970, 25).

The Papuan Villager was an inoperative "system," imposed on the Papuans by colonial agents as a means of encouraging such contradictory responses as assimilation, self-expression and national unity. The reason the tabloid did not succeed was that, in Glen Bays' words, it was the wrong technology. Too few Papuans could read or write English well enough to make use of the language as a resource, or of writing as a technology. The chief purpose of the Administration in publishing *The Papuan Villager* -- assimilation -- was diametrically opposed to the requested product -- creative self-expression. As a tool for development, *The Papuan Villager* was a complete failure.

The Administration was somewhat more successful in delivering indigenous content through its *School Readers*. In 1928 Rev. W.J.V. Saville of the London Missionary Society wrote the *Papuan School Readers*, whose illustrations and text related to the experience of Papuan children. The Administration enthusiastically adopted the readers, as well as a revised version, the *Papuan Junior Readers*, written in 5 volumes from 1932-38. The *Papuan Junior Readers* easily outsold the *The Papuan Villager*, becoming the basic reading material in English (aside from the Bible) for all elementary school children. As copies were distributed free to mission schools, their success as curricular material is understandable. And, although they represented Papuan daily life through the filter of foreign eyes, they nevertheless provided some Papuan reference points for European-style education. The relevance of this education was queried by Camille Wedgewood who wrote that successful mission education seemed to consist, from what she could observe, in an ability to read the *Papuan Junior Readers*, to do sums, and to name the principal geographic features of the colony (Dickson 1970, 25). Most of this magically efficacious knowledge was lost through reversion to illiteracy within a year or two after school leaving.

B. English in Schools

As Bernard Mouralis has argued, literature does not become a subject in colonial education. Instead literary texts are used as examples of proper usage while the colonial language is learned by rote. This was exactly the case in Papua New Guinea in the 1960s and 1970s (Schild 15ff). Only with Independence approaching in 1975, did the government seriously consider installing a cultural component into the educational system. But the stated goal of the Department's five year education plan of 1975 was still that English be the language of instruction. This glaring disjunction between linguistic and cultural policies in Papua New Guinea schools became immediately evident, as the following admonition illustrates:

> The method frequently used of banning vernaculars or lingua franca in the playground as an adjunct to teaching of English, has detrimental effects on children's attitude towards their own language. More important, though, is the whole fundamental question of cultural change caused by language. Culture and language cannot be separated so to change the language *must* have profound cultural implications. (*Curriculum and Research Bulletin* 1 [1974]: 33)

Inevitably the gap caused by insisting on a colonial language for instruction while trying to engender cultural pride created a curricular conundrum. This was solved by keeping a subject called English and inventing a subject called Expressive Arts. Neither subject generates much professional research activity, as the Department of Education's first issue of the *Curriculum and Research Bulletin* in 1974 illustrates.[4] However, both were compulsory in secondary school. Some attempt was made in English class to match Papua New Guinea oral tradition up with the official language in one of the two periods per week devoted to Oral English. *Old and New*, a collection of indigenous songs, legends, stories, and poems was presented in English translation. Teachers were advised to use *Old and New* as a "morale-booster" for native children. That is, its inclusion in the syllabus was meant to be part of the decolonization of Papua New Guinea culture, tangible proof that native lore was enjoyable and of good enough quality to translate "into simple but good English verse" ("Teacher's Guide" *Old and New*, 1975, 111).

If English class was rife with cultural ambivalence, Expressive Arts tapped into a cultural reservoir where language could not interfere. It was an immediate success. At the elementary level, Expressive Arts was meant to familiarize students with their own cultures and enable them to live in their own communities. As far as curriculum was concerned:

> no syllabus has been prepared for Expressive Arts with the deliberate intention of encouraging teachers to ensure that the subject is truly expressive. Traditional studies, music, carving, physical education, copper work and so on are all components of the course and emphasis on certain aspects depends on the particular community of the school and the background and interests of the teacher. (*Curr. and Res. Bull.* 1 [1974]: 15)

The success of Expressive Arts in Papua New Guinea high schools demonstrates the popularity of creative courses in the curriculum. Sogeri High School is a good case in point. It was noted during the period of decolonization for its visual and dramatic arts graduates. Many of its students contributed substantially to the later development of cultural institutions in the country. Jack Lahui is only one example: he is a poet; he became the first Papua New Guinean Director of the Literature Bureau; and he now directs its successor in the National Research Institute.

It is clear that, as an official system based on **written** culture, colonial schooling in Papua New Guinea could not provide a permanent basis for literary production. Competence, not creativity, was the goal of English language instruction.

What is more, the government system aimed at competence for the few -- an elite indigenous population who could replace the expats in the colonial administration. And this system did manage to produce an indigenous elite, very few of whom wrote anything. Within education the main avenue which lead to creative production were the Expressive Arts classes. Significantly, these were the very classes that the government exercised the least control over as far as curriculum was concerned. Furthermore, this is the area least researched by resident expat experts. In other words, teachers were free to foster creative production in Expressive Arts, especially in those areas which were not language-dependent. The wealth of school magazines in PNG is direct evidence of the success of Expressive Arts. Sogeri's own *Toemwasala* creative writing series, edited by Barry Ison was an example. It was a 48-page collection of original poems, stories, and illustrations. *Taim Bipo, Taim Nau: A Selection of Oral Histories*, also edited by Ison (1974), was yet another collection of writing and designs by Sogeri students. A vibrant example of this bridging between old and new, *Taim Bipo* even included drum rhythms.

On the other hand, the colonial education system was very successful in establishing education as a foreign body of knowledge and values, using a foreign language, delivered by a foreign authority, and which was necessary for the participation of the indigenous population in the modern world. The stage was thus set for the mass arrival of change agents during the decolonization frenzy of the 1960s and 1970s. And the structures were in place that would support a specific kind of technological conversion when writing was extended from a tool of economic exchange into a tool of political nationalism. This conversion generated the illusion of a literary system in the presence of the four actant roles Siegfried J. Schmidt claims are necessary to such a system: production, distribution, processing, and post-processing (Schmidt 1982). In the case of Papua New Guinea, the four roles reflected not an aesthetic purpose, but a political one. As a result, they evaporated one by one, once Independence was achieved and the change agents had gone home.

II. THE MISSIONS AND THE VERNACULARS

The cosy arrangement that had characterized mission and Administration relations before the second World War altered drastically after the war. Both agencies were forced into adopting more rapid change strategies when the United Nations itself adopted a Charter of Human Rights. Suddenly there was a worldwide rush to decolonize. Article 26 of the Charter dealt with the right to free, compulsory elementary education as a pre-requisite to the free and democratic world envisioned by the United Nations. The neglect which had characterized the Australian administration of Papua and New Guinea was duly noted and criticized by two visiting UN missions in 1953 and 1962. The pressures thus exerted on the Australian Government both from the outside and from progressive forces at home resulted in action, although not immediate and not as predicted. In 1955, the Administration implemented a policy of compulsory primary education. But by 1970 it still could only boast of 50% school attendance.

What this rush to catch up with the rest of the decolonizing world did in Papua New Guinea was to destroy the "gradualism" policy of G.T. Roscoe, Director of Education in the late 1950s. This policy of slowly preparing islanders to replace expats was also aimed at preventing the formation of an exploitative indigenous elite. The only way Roscoe could cope with the demands for more and better qualified schools and teachers was to hire Australians. In other words, the move to expand and improve colonial education did not take its impulse from the native population. Foreign change agents instituted and controlled the whole process. Effective indigenization involved a mass influx of "models" who would organize such institutions and administrative policies and structures as would make actual indigenization possible. These models knew no vernaculars, so education was now truly in English. Having constructed the framework, they were to train enough islanders to "take over," and then leave. Which they did. By 1972, the Australian primary teachers were fully replaced by Papua New Guineans and by 1980, 70% of high school staff were citizens (P. Smith passim).

Through all this outside pressure to decolonize, the missions maintained the illusion of linguistic duality in the system by championing the vernaculars. Despite the Administration's requirement that education be conducted in English, it rarely was at the lowest levels (Chatterton 1961, 4).[5] From the nineteenth century onward, in the village schools, the missions have relied to a large extent on vernaculars and pidgins for their own ideological purposes and practical needs. Their prime purpose was to create a literate public for the Bible and other religious texts in translation. From a practical standpoint, until after the second World War, most elementary school teachers were poorly paid, poorly trained islanders whose own grasp of English was tenuous at best. Furthermore, most elementary students had no opportunity outside the classroom to ever use English.

The missions began to lose control after the war, when the Australian Government dropped its laissez faire attitude toward education. In a 1946 conference held at Port Moresby, the Administration and the missions met to discuss the proposals of the first Director of Education, W.C. Groves. Groves had been impressed by the change theories of F.E. Williams and felt that schooling could demonstrate the co-operation of mission and government, all the while reflecting the needs of the people. To this end he proposed a four-level school system where students would begin in mission-run village schools and progress to Administration-run area schools. Secondary training was to be a governmental monopoly. The curriculum, Groves felt, should be locally determined to reflect village life. No one was happy with his plan. Some missions agreed with the London Missionary Society that missions should not be schooling children at all. Others, like the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, wanted no governmental interference at all. Some teachers, left with no direction, tried to follow the Australian syllabus as best they could. Others tried to develop a truly village-based education to the chagrin of parents who wanted the foreign education in the foreign language. In the end the churches blocked some of Grove's plans while acceding to others. The tangible result for children was a dual system of education reflecting the polarities established by the two colonial agencies. Some people considered themselves as "belong government" (attending government schools); others as "belong mission" (Laracy 148ff; Louisson 112ff; Weeks and Guthrie 35).

Eventually an Education Ordinance was passed in 1952 which automatically registered all government schools, but required mission schools to conform to certain standards in order to be registered and receive their grants. Few missions could afford to pay staff at a rate competitive to that offered by government schools, and so they lost both staff and students to those government schools. In this way, control of education passed from mission hands. In 1958, 91% of Papua New Guinea's school children in grades 1-6 were educated in mission schools. In 1970, the number had fallen to 62% (Weeks and Guthrie 37). The balance of power was set in the 1970 Education Ordinance which brought most schools into the national education system and where the government retained the central authority and control over secondary training, while the missions retained control at the lower levels. The continued insistence of the Australian Administration, and later of the Papua New Guinea Government, on the use of English; the gradual replacement of islander teaching staff by Australians;

and the loss of mission-control of education meant that both vernacular languages and cultures suffered.

A. Battle Lines Form Up: SIL and the Literacy Salvo

The missions, and the newly indigenized autonomous churches that took over many of their roles, did not take this defeat lightly. It was crucial to evangelism and to Christian education that vernaculars remain viable during the decolonizing period. Literature in Papua New Guinea has benefitted from the choice Christian churches made at that time, as they proceeded to tie the language issue to the question of literacy. In this way they kept alive the connection between writing and indigenous culture. A motherhood issue during decolonization, literacy became the banner cry of the churches -- a sure way of highlighting their fight for the vernaculars, and an equally sure way of embarrassing the Government, which was obviously incapable of delivering literacy in English. During the two decades of active decolonization in Papua New Guinea, then, literacy represented, for the Christian agencies, the principal end product of the technology of writing (Lynch 11-15; Ashton 142).

As a means of protecting the churches' interests, there began to appear in the 1950s a series of institutional structures dedicated to promoting literacy and translation. Chief among these institutions was the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). SIL first began work at Ukarumpa in 1956 (Hooley 1968, 64) and remains active there to this day. Since the colony could never claim any more than a 50% participation rate in primary school, the main targets of SIL's literacy programmes were illiterate adults and teenagers. The churches were able, then, to focus on adult education as a field of operations where they could strengthen their battle for indigenous content in the curriculum and vernacular languages in instruction.

Originally formed in the United States in 1934 by Cameron Townsend, the SIL (and its associated agency, the Wycliffe Bible Translators) is a Christian change agency whose goals are to permeate a culture without destroying it. In other words, SIL workers *hope* people will become Christians, because they believe that a Christian world would be a better world; but there is no *overt* coercion into becoming a Christian. Members of the Wycliffe Bible Translators and of SIL are at pains to encourage indigenous peoples to retain aspects of their original culture like musical forms and folklore, to write their own words to Christian songs and, above all, to retain their own language (Taylor passim).

SIL members are trained linguists and cultural anthropologists, many of them of international stature.[6] The results of their work are impressive. Taylor's 1985 article demonstrates that, as a Christian change agency, SIL is far less destructive than other missionary organizations he has studied. Lynch (13) has indicated that of the mission organizations in PNG, the SIL has been the most successful in producing the largest number of non-religious literacy texts. In 1977, of the 18 languages that had 10 or more publications, 9 were from the Eastern Highlands Province where SIL is based (12).[7] Lynch's figures are synthesized from a 1975 survey conducted by SIL in co-operation with UPNG's Educational Research Unit (ERU). The author of the SIL report on the survey, Joice Franklin, states that, although the government's Adult Education Department "has been experimenting with literacy programmes in some areas....literacy programmes for unschooled adults and teenagers have largely been the responsibility of missions and SIL" (7).[8] In 1975, Franklin could report that SIL was producing literacy materials in over 40 languages, half of which were encountering such materials for the first time. By 1988 when the decolonizing frenzy had cooled down, SIL was still active but at a calmer pace, producing 81 literacy titles that year in 29 languages (*Annual Report* 1988, 23).

The attitude of SIL towards indigenous culture is clearly stated in its aims and born out in a fairly rigorous method. According to Bruce Hooley, Director of SIL during the high period of political decolonization in PNG, the organization has five aims: 1) linguistic study; 2) anthropological study; 3) promoting vernacular literacy wherever possible; 4) translating scriptures and other materials; 5) encouraging social/economic development in target groups (Hooley 1968, 64). When a target group is identified, SIL sends in a team of two people who it is assumed will have long-term contact with that group over many years. Their study is supported and supervised by a "Linguistic Committee of five Departments (Anthropology, Grammar, Phonetics, Literacy, and Translation)" (Hooley 1968, 65). Each team is meant to become fluent in the target language within a few months; produce an analysis of the phonology; propose an orthography and grammatical analysis. At the same time they are to observe and describe the culture, build up a file of dictionary entries and prepare for literacy and translation.

As soon as the team understands the language well enough, it prepares literacy materials, primers, and readers. The team actively promotes vernacular literacy classes and begins to train indigenous teachers. The fundamental principle behind this highly organized and extremely effective sector of colonial sub-culture is that language and culture are considered indivisible.

> Although it is desirable for indigenous peoples here and elsewhere to speak, read and write the national language of their country, long experience has shown that the most effective means of communication with any people is through their native tongue. (Hooley 1968, 67)

Once the structures were in place for SIL workers to promote literacy in local communities, SIL embarked on a much more ambitious programme. Materials for literacy were produced at an increasing pace after 1965 and took another surge forward after 1973 (*SIL Bibliography 1956-75*). In the mid 1970s, SIL conducted a series of vernacular literacy seminars for staff and students at UPNG and at several teacher colleges (East 140; R.K. Johnson 1975a). Beginning in 1983, SIL began to hold "National Literacy" courses at SIL headquarters at Ukarumpa. The idea was to work for eight weeks with islanders who would return to their own villages to continue literacy classes there.

As with all SIL activities, the national course was efficient and practical. For the 1987 course, for example, participants were expected to produce 35 or more copies of a vernacular spelling guide, a booklet of stories, and a storybook during a writers' course they themselves led. They were to learn to manage a vernacular library, promote vernacular reading, and manage a vernacular writers' course. On a personal level, each participant was to increase his own individual reading speed by 5% or more and write a 12-month plan that would include 4 village writing courses where participants were to produce vernacular books.

In the 1987 course, financial restrictions meant that all this was to be accomplished in **four** weeks, not eight. Students had educational backgrounds of anywhere from grades 2 to 10. Two students were women. Three of the students had formerly taken the course, but had brought along several new students to assist with the ongoing work at home. Follow-up included a written report and a 6-month up-date. In addition, a literacy consultant was to visit each former student and report on activities (*Literacy Course* 1988, 42-43). If SIL was going to fail to bring literacy to PNG, it wasn't going to be for lack of trying.

SIL's worldwide success is in large part due to its apparent a-political stance. Its translation and linguistic activities are only minimally evangelical, while the results of its scientific studies are made freely available to local authorities, or any other interested parties. In PNG, the Administration recognized the superior capabilities of SIL in the realm of language study and teaching. In the 1960s, it requested sets of language learning lessons from SIL. The Department of Information and Extension Services (DIES) then published them as part of the Administration's effort at adult education. Later a comprehensive course of programmed learning tapes were developed to teach Tok Pisin. The Institute conducted numerous language surveys for the Administration. SIL members collected up so many myths, legends, and other items of folklore for linguistic analysis that they began publishing collections of them for the use of anthropologists and folklorists in the late 1960s. Finally, Institute workers collected, preserved and analyzed the musical forms and styles they encountered; they then wrote many articles based on this research and published a catalogue of musical instruments as well (Hooley 1968, 68-70). By downplaying its evangelical goals, providing valued services for the Administration, and participating in the academic life of the decolonizing process, SIL served as a bridge between the two major colonial agencies. It had credibility in both spheres.

It seems ludicrous to say that SIL views writing not only as a means to translation, but as a means to producing coherence in communications damaged by contact with Europeans. And from one point of view it is ludicrous. How, we might ask, is more interference in the form of a foreign technology going to correct the problems that the technology created in the first place? From an SIL view, writing is now a permanent feature of indigenous daily life. The sooner that all people have access to it, the more equal and fair daily life becomes. Therefore literacy "helps the older people to respect the literate, who are usually the youth. The literates' knowledge to communicate with people outside the village and to trade develops this respect. As culture preservation becomes increasingly emphasized, the educated can also write and record the traditions of the people for future generations" (SIL, *Annual Report* 1988, 14).

SIL is under no illusions as to why people wish to become literate. Franklin's 1975 survey indicated that adults mostly wanted to be able to read and write personal letters. Other reasons were "to get better jobs, to run businesses, to gain prestige, to read the Bible, and to read news. In Papuan areas another frequent reason given was to keep up with the children" (Franklin 6). These practical desires on the part of the illiterate have generated much of the "How to" secular texts that Lynch denigrates. Roy Gwyther-Jones, for instance, produced a number of pamphlets in the 1970s telling people how to write letters and how to make use of the postal service (Gwyther-Jones 1972).

To help in its fight for literacy, SIL has always worked to train indigenous writers and editors. Using Tok Pisin as a means of communication, the Institute has conducted hundreds of short workshops (usually of three weeks or less) for four decades. The format for writer training workshops has remained fairly constant over the years. For example, the workshop held by Helen Marten in Maprik in October 1988 sounds very much like the workshops Glen Bays offered in the early 1970s. The purpose of the workshop was to train people to write "real life" vernacular reading materials for their own people. As training in different genres, they were encouraged to write "personal experiences, stories, legends, songs, poems, and news" (15). They were also shown how to operate a cassette recorder and how to transcribe from it. When their writing became strong enough, they were introduced to translation. Many of these workshops were specifically designed to produce vernacular reading materials for children. Consequently, the workshops often took place with the co-operation of the local schools and town librarian. The stories produced in the workshops were frequently bound and retained as part of a vernacular collection in the local library.

Whether or not this concentrated and highly organized activity can or could produce an indigenous literature is a moot point. In the first place, it is not *intended* to produce an indigenous literature, only indigenous literates. Yet there are so few texts in any of PNG's 869 languages, that anything written in a workshop achieves a status it would never obtain in a truly literate society. For decades, collections of stories and poems from the short writing courses have been printed and distributed as though they were newfound gold. And perhaps they are. But since the change agency's literacy concerns were limited to a specific context, and since the agency set its sights permanently at entry-level training, nothing in the way of "literature" developed. SIL is adept at achieving the goals it has set for itself, but they are not aesthetic goals. It is important to understand that SIL is a colonial change agency that did not disband. The change agents did not go home. The literature system of which it is a part is an illusory one where the actant roles have been artificially created by a foreign culture to serve its own purposes. Should the Institute ever leave PNG, the vigour that is so deceiving in its activities would likely dissipate, as has happened when other artificially created features of PNG literary life (like the CTC of Glen Bays) were withdrawn.

SIL's colonial connection is quite evident. It relies on funding from other change agencies to carry out its projects. In PNG it has, for instance, a strong monetary tie to CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) and the Alberta Agency for International Development (SIL, *Annual Report* 1988, 23). Colonial sub-culture has generated a constellation of these decolonizing change agencies which continue to serve the interests of the industrialized world in former colonies. So persistent is the colonizing impulse in western culture that former colonies like Canada willingly take up colonial structures (in this case, aid organizations) to perpetuate the colonial world in its most recent post-colonial guise. What this means for the study of the so-called "new" or emerging literatures of the world is that much of what appears to be a *new national* literary system is in fact an extension of the former colonial literary system.

B. *READ* Magazine and the Literacy Question

A continuing goal of SIL in PNG has been to generate support from the Administration, and then the Government, for its vernacular literacy campaign. In this campaign, SIL had two target groups in mind: the first group consisted of those illiterate adults for whom the government was doing little. Since the Department of Education could only provide national high school spots for a fraction of the number of people desiring them, adult education was the most pressing need facing the education system, in the Institute's view. The second target group was made up of the very young children who were being alienated from their culture by English instruction. Many of these children simply dropped out of the system from frustration and eventually became candidates for adult education themselves. As part of its strategy, SIL participates in all academic conferences on literacy and delivers vernacular literacy courses to teachers colleges across the country (Litteral 1974, 91-92). In 1976, Joy McCarthy was able to chart SIL activities for the previous two years, concluding that:

> The result of these courses has been the informing about and motivation towards literacy of 607 teachers and librarian trainees from approximately 250 languages and the more expanded training and production of alphabets in twelve languages and primers in seventeen languages. Future government educational policy will determine, in part, the long-term results of the courses. (37-38)

The campaign in SIL's literacy publication, *READ: The Adult Literacy and Literature Magazine*, is relentless. Ann Cates, in a January 1975 article, asked "Why Teach First in the Vernaculars?" The answer was that literacy is easier to obtain when the language of literacy is the same as that in which the student "verbalizes all reality" (2). If books speak to the student in his own language then the value of literacy is solidly embedded in his mind. Cates added that, as experience in Viet Nam's Highlander Education Project had demonstrated, the school drop-out rate (a persistent problem in PNG) had been greatly reduced because of vernacular literacy.

In that same issue of *READ*, C. Collins actually provided a manual for teaching the vernacular in an article entitled "Teaching the Vernaculars -- In Government Schools." Even the graphics of this article were provocative. "Teaching the Vernacular" was in boldface, capitals, and centred. "In Government Schools" was in smaller typeface, capitals, unbolded, and centred below the first part of the title. The introduction immediately below the sub-title carried this disclaimer:

> This is not to be confused with Vernacular Education, but rather a step only in that direction. Those that have already learnt what reading and writing is, need only a few hours instruction to switch them to the vernacular languages which they speak -- in this case Kamano-Kafe. (Collins 42)

The article proceeded to provide step-by-step instructions for teachers who wished to subvert the national education system's policy on English language instruction, by expanding the use of vernaculars in the classroom. There was even a section on how to involve parents and community members in this subterfuge.

From its inception in 1966, *READ* has provided an engrossing diary of the concerted attempts by SIL members in their fight for literacy. What is clear from the journal is that the editors see the literacy campaign, in part, as the sort of programme the government should have adopted, but hadn't.[9] In a special issue of *READ*, 2 (1976), "Providing Literature for New Literates," the editor says:

> In most developing countries one aspect of development is a national literature which is written not just for the people but by the people of that developing country. The opportunity to write for one's own people should not be the privilege of an *educated elite* [my emphasis] only. (7)

It is quite clear from this editorial and from the magazine as a whole that *READ* sees itself as an advocate for *all* people in PNG, an organ of true democracy through mass literacy.[10] In setting itself up in opposition to the lack of government literacy programmes and to the burgeoning elite writers of UPNG, *READ* became part of an alternate literary system, organized by church agencies.

SIL members also used *READ* as a vehicle for information-sharing among themselves. Articles abound on how to set up and maintain the four actant roles of a literary system. A list of titles from the retrospective Special Issue, 2 (1976), gives a clear indication of the scope of these concerns:

- What is a new Reader
- How to Write for Inexperienced Readers
- First Writers Training at Nobonob
- Who Shall Write for New Guineans
- Writers and Readers for Papua New Guinea
- Indigenous Writers in the Making
- Purposes and Problems in Producing Periodicals
- Training National Editors
- A Book Market for New Guineans

In addition to instituting the four actant roles, *READ* contributors were concerned with matters of creating a written style in languages where writing had never before existed (Editorial 11.3 [1976]: 65; Ray Johnston 1976, 66-70).

But more than any other problem, contributors puzzled over how to keep the newly-literate reading. In a perceptive article from 1974 Helen Marten reviewed attempts that had been made by SIL members to produce materials interesting enough to keep literates literate. Her observations were that "helpful" literature like *How to Grow Good Coffee* and the natural history books like *Animals of the Bible* were "not bad" for a beginning, but needed to be supplemented with books written by indigenous people on subjects that interested them. She recommended change agents closely observe islanders to see what kind of story, subject matter, illustrations, etc. they reacted to best. *Kovave*, the PNG literary journal established by Ulli Beier, and the Literature Bureau's *New Guinea Writing*, were specially mentioned as good examples of indigenous writing.

Marten was careful to note that literature "for new literates should include some fiction so that they don't think that everything in print is true" (113). For fiction sources she suggested folklore unless it might be equated with Scripture or even come into conflict with it. Other dangers of using folklore might be that it contained content that natives themselves considered immoral (i.e. stories they might tell orally but would not like to see in print); competitions between villages over the "true" version of a given story; copyright problems over previously translated and published versions of the stories. Marten also felt that "failure" stories should be included since "life is not all success."

In sum, her article demonstrates a keen awareness of the issues involved in producing reading material for people of other cultures. Furthermore, it demonstrates an active willingness to search beyond the world of the Christian church for resource material for her purposes. But the material absorbed into the mission system must, at the same time, be filtered through Christian ideology. The same filtering of content applied throughout the mission system, as Glen Bays had discovered to his chagrin. When encouraging new authors in his writing course at Nobonob, he discovered that Kristen Pres was not willing to publish *all* his students' work. Censorship was applied, especially to those re-tellings of native folklore that did not conform to notions of cultural acceptability held by members of Kristen Pres' board. If judged unacceptable, the stories were rejected out of hand (Bays interview, 1993).

Marten's article ended with comments on the efficacy of writing courses. The short courses were not producing writers. She pointed to African experience where concentrated time spent with individual students over a long period had been more productive. She concluded that the literacy programme was now at the stage where developing a "tribal literature" should be a major goal (116). Her conclusion went unheeded. Only in the literary system based at UPNG was the kind of personal mentoring for writers that Marten advocates actually taking place. And, with the advent of political independence, that too would disappear along with the foreign experts who taught creative writing.

Helen Marten makes a habit of posing uncomfortable questions. In a 1969 *READ* article entitled "Literacy for Those Who Don't Want It," she asked: "Do you have any ideas of how to get people to do what they don't seem to want to do?" (14): that is, **read**. She reported that members of the Yessan-Mayo tribe to whom she had been trying to introduce literacy classes for ***five*** years, just weren't interested. After only 30-50 years of contact with Europeans, these 900 people living in 7 villages much as they had always lived, just didn't see the point. Marten's question went unanswered. Mission ideology did not often allow that kind of introspection. As a technology for development, writing was necessary to the colonial sub-culture and therefore would be introduced, whether people wanted it or not.

C. Bi-Lingual Education and Tok Ples Schools

If adult literacy classes and writers' training workshops were aimed at the first target group identified by SIL, bi-lingual education and Tok Ples (i.e. vernacular) schools were meant to serve the second target group -- the very young. Since bi-lingual education was a more threatening concept to the Administration, SIL limited its activities in this arena. Its main thrust consisted of a series of carefully explanatory academic arguments regarding the history of bi-lingual education and providing research results from practising projects (R.K. Johnson 1974 and 1975). Compared to the usual polemics of *READ*, this was the "soft-sell" approach.

In a patient article titled "Some Frequent and Recurring Fallacies Concerning [unbolded, small capital letters] Bilingual Education [bolded, very large capital letters]," Sarah Gudschinsky explained to her readers that 400 years of experience in Mexico had shown that Indian children did not learn Spanish in monolingual Spanish schools. Their acquisition of Spanish had improved by quantum leaps only since the Department of Education and the National Indian Institute had begun primary education in vernaculars as a bridge into Spanish. Gudschinsky's other examples cover the globe: the Philippines, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, the USA....

The point to Gudschinsky's argument is that all of these countries had discovered something: use of other languages was a unifying, not a divisive, factor. Ethnic groups that had felt cut off from the national life of the country now had access to power and knowledge:

> the end product of bilingual education is precisely those results which are most desired by the people who often oppose such bilingual education. It is the most direct road to the salvaging of marginal persons, and to the incorporation of ethnic minorities into the mainstream of national life. (11)

An equally careful 26-page essay is Joy McCarthy's review of the pros and cons of bi-lingual education according to academic research (1975). Her conclusion is a minimal single paragraph, where she ventures to suggest that, in a country as diverse as PNG, a national language was not likely to become a daily resource for most people. In her considered review (taking into account 20 years of research) bi-lingual education made sense.

Now, why tip-toe around such an important issue? One answer lies in the realm of politics. The new PNG government keenly felt the threat posed by the secessionist movement, Papua Besena. This micronationalist group had arisen among the largely Motu-speaking peoples of Papua, the region where most of the new elite were from.[11] It was political suicide for the government to embrace Tok Pisin at a time when a strong secessionist movement using Hiri Motu was gathering strength. Furthermore, Papua Besena was not the only ethnic threat to national unity. From the government's perspective then, encouraging local language use in schools looked like empowering the forces of division in the country.

Another answer to the care taken in the treatment of the bi-lingual education issue lay within the purview of the missions themselves. There was a very good chance that bi-lingual education might be confused with vernacular literacy, or even that bi-lingual education might be understood as vernacular education. This is the point of Pamela Harris' article, "Vernacular Literacy Programme within Bilingual Education." Harris hastened to define bi-lingual education as the use of *two* languages in the instruction of the same students (44). According to Harris, vernacular literacy was only part of a bi-lingual programme and indeed might not even form a part of such a programme.

Herein lay the rub for PNG's Christian agencies. The natural extension of their push for vernacular literacy was the adoption of a national bi-lingual education policy. Yet experience in Australian Aboriginal schools and elsewhere had demonstrated a couple of danger zones. The first of these was the existence of two broad models of bi-lingual education for Aborigines: one where vernacular literacy was followed by

English literacy in situations where linguists had analyzed and recorded the vernacular. The other model operated where no such linguistic study existed for the vernacular. In these cases, **oral** vernacular instruction was followed by English literacy. In other words, a variety of bi-lingual programmes was possible. In the case of the 700 odd PNG languages for which extensive linguistic study had not yet been conducted, this might mean a cursory nod in the direction of indigenous orality before the important business of English literacy began.

The second danger lay in the actual goals of the bi-lingual education itself. In some cases, such education could eradicate, rather than preserve, the indigenous language. Harris provides the example of the Siberian Yupik in the Soviet Union. After the Revolution, Lenin had instituted a campaign geared toward mass literacy, which he achieved in most areas by providing vernacular literacy. In the case of the Yupik, the transfer from Yupik to Russian was so complete that, within 20 years, the Eskimo dialect was virtually extinct (46-47).

Harris' argument makes the important point that bi-lingual education can follow two goal models: *transfer*, in which the minority group is intended to acquire and become proficient in the status language; and *maintenance*, in which the minority group can use both languages and cultures throughout school life and presumably afterward as well. Clearly SIL members needed to tread cautiously the murky waters of bi-lingual education lest the government see the issue as just one more way of transferring English.

Of course SIL and other Christian agencies were not alone in their interest in bi-lingual education. Many people within the Department of Education and at UPNG felt the idea had merit.[12] A number of academic conferences during the early 1970s demonstrated that Tok Pisin was a much more viable language for communication in PNG than English. In 1973, a Tok Pisin conference at UPNG had concluded that an English-only programme worked against the personal development of most students, and impeded overall national development. At the Eighth Waigani Conference in 1974, 80% of the speakers presented papers in favour of bi-lingual programmes. The consensus was that children were losing their cultural identity within an English-only system. A Five-Year Plan was drawn up after the conference recommending a combination of vernaculars and English in grades 1-4, and English from grade 5 onward. In the same year, Cabinet rejected all proposals to mitigate the effects of English and, in 1975, it declared English to be the sole official language. This in spite of the fact that more Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu than English were used in the Legislative Assembly, that one-third of the population used Tok Pisin daily, and that Tok Pisin had equal status to English in all lower levels of government administration (Guffey passim).

The official linguistic doors began to open somewhat in 1976 when provincial governments were given control over primary schools, except for curriculum. That year, the 1976-80 Education Plan re-stated the commitment to English, but allowed use of vernaculars in grades 1 and 2 if considered necessary for communication with students and *only* if permission were received by the Provincial Education Board (*Education Plan 1976-80*, 59). This policy was confirmed in the Department's *Bi-Annual Report for 1979-80* (70). According to this new policy, vernaculars could be introduced as an elective, but only with permission. The government would provide no money for materials, trained teachers, or salaries. Such adversity had never deterred the missions before. They took this crack in the uniform surface of official policy and stuck a number nine boot in it.

1. Tok Ples Schools

The North Solomons Viles Tok Ples Skuls project dates from 1979.[13] Tok Ples pre-schools (priskuls) have now spread over several provinces in PNG but for many years everyone monitored the Solomons Islands experiment as though a bomb might explode. It didn't. The project succeeded despite the fact that it was run by women (hence, no status), despite the fact that teachers were badly trained, and had no materials and few supplies (Guffey passim). The objectives were to achieve vernacular literacy over 1-2 years in order to later facilitate English literacy. The Tok Ples pre-school was particularly meant to help rural children who could not participate in the National Education System on a par with urban and coastal children (Wroge 14).

Many provincial governments are now funding Tok Ples Skuls and the idea has been so well accepted that SIL was able to offer the first training course for Tok Ples educational workers at Ukarumpa, in February of 1987 (Malone 1987). The commitment of the staff at the university and in the Department of Education has lent the movement both power and credibility. The National Workshop on Educational Research -- Tok Ples Preschools that took place outside Rabaul in 1989 was sponsored by the Director of Educational Research of the National Research Institute (NRI) and led by Sheldon Weeks. The invited guest was an expert on pre-school programmes in China. The Workshop was attended by provincial representatives and agencies from across the country, including SIL, UPNG and NRI (Wroge 13).

IV. THE THIRD "DUALITY": TOK PISIN

A. The Linguists Arrive

In actual fact, the language debate has a third interested foreign party and a third linguistic face. The Australian Administration and its successor, the "elite" independent Government of PNG, chose the colonial language for their linguistic resource. The missions and their successors, the Christian indigenized churches, sided with the common folk and chose vernaculars. Between them are the technicians of language, the university-based linguists, who have no successors. Perhaps predictably the most vocal of all decolonizing agents, the linguists fall mainly into the Pidgin/vernacular camp.[14] Their importance is as agitators and instigators. The polemics generated in the cause of the vernaculars by linguists in that "a-political" organization, SIL, has already been noted. In the 1970s, SIL workers were joined by a flight of secular linguists attached to the new university. Unlike their colleagues at SIL, these latter-day change agents took up the cause of Tok Pisin, which had had few proponents other than Father Frank Mihalic to that point. In so doing, the linguists re-defined the parameters of the debate. That is, for about a decade, Tok Pisin became a consideration for the educational and administrative power-brokers of the pre- and post-independence governments. But the involvement of the linguists was its own kind of chimera. While their cause seemed to devolve on the usefulness of Tok Pisin as a national language, islanders themselves did not see Tok Pisin as a cause at all (Mihalic 96; Brash 1975, 321; Thomas Dutton 17ff). Elton Brash and Frank Mihalic felt that the motives of the linguists had as much to do with carving a role for themselves in the process of decolonization as with any national linguistic force.[15]

In general then, linguists chose to centre their own arguments on the choice between English and Tok Pisin. In this choice, the link they forged between the nationalism issue and language was obvious. No vernacular in PNG (so the argument went) had enough geographic or cultural credibility to become the national language. Of the lingua franca, Tok Pisin had rapidly outpaced Hiri Motu, which itself had too many coastal cultural connections to succeed as a national language.[16] Tok Pisin therefore was the best contender, should the government ever seriously consider the choice (Laycock 1969, 15; Wurm 12ff).

When linguist Father John Verhaar wrote that a close reading of the PNG Constitution revealed Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu to be PNG's national languages and English to be its official language (48), he summarized the government's ambivalence toward a national language and, Verhaar would add, toward a national culture. Knowledge of either Hiri Motu or of Tok Pisin was necessary for citizenship, but the language of law, government, and education was English. Verhaar observed that the language of the colonizer usually became the language of the post-colonial education system, but not necessarily that of the nation. He felt that in time all ex-colonies matured enough to be able to let go of the colonial language.

Frank Mihalic also remarked on this disparity between actual practice and official policy. A staunch promoter of Tok Pisin, Mihalic translated the Constitution into the lingua franca as a Tenth Anniversary gift to PNG in 1985. Fr. Mihalic wrote that such a translation "had been needed especially by the 6,000 local court magistrates and staff whose decisions over the years had been based on a Constitution they could not read" (93). Yet, by 1986, "printing holdups" had prevented the volume from appearing on the market. Two decades before, Mihalic had encountered these same frustrations. He had compiled a grammar and dictionary of Tok Pisin, calling the language *Neo-Melanesian*. The Education Department had asked Mihalic to rewrite his book using the official orthography established just previously. This he did with the assurance that, when the work was finished, it would be designated as the "official spelling in the country." Although the government followed through with its promise, it never *enforced* the spelling, even in its own Pidgin publications like *Niugini Tok Tok* (90).

B. John Gunther and the Administration's View

In 1969, a conference was convened by the Council on New Guinea Affairs to investigate the possibility of substituting Tok Pisin for English. Universal primary education had not been achieved, nor had literacy in English. Academics and Administration officials met to consider whether Pidgin might help the Administration meet its educational and literacy goals. The sharp exchange of views was characteristic of this debate, which maintained its asperity into the 1980s. The colonial reverence for English was very evident on one side of this debate in the positions taken by those people who espoused the European model of the nation-state; that is, a single nation required a single national language (Gunther 1969, 43). John Gunther, Director of the Council (and Vice-Chancellor of UPNG), claimed that English was necessary for participation in international affairs, as well as for sophisticated reasoning and expression. As a status language, English would protect PNG from the ridicule it would incur should a pidgin language be adopted. At the base of it, Gunther felt English to be the only language capable of unifying a country, with no geographic or tribal coherence.

Gunther's speech makes fascinating reading. It is characterized by an arrogant abuse of power: despite being too busy to prepare for the conference, despite having missed all sessions prior to his own, despite his own admission that what he had to say had probably already been said by others, he delivered his paper anyway (43). Gunther's argument about the use of Tok Pisin in PNG was based on a completely uninformed opinion:

> The Pidgin English newspaper *Niugini Tok Tok* is given away. I don't know its circulation or how much it is read. It couldn't be sold. I submit the *South Pacific Post* and the *New Guinea Times Courier* [English language newspapers] are read more by the Papuans and New Guineans than the Pidgin papers, what is more the native people will buy the latter two when they wouldn't buy the former. (52)

Gunther's argument was also based on an equally uninformed reading of the work of Robert Hall, Jr., the American linguist (and mentor of Fr. Frank Mihalic) who had published *Hands Off Pidgin English*. In an attempt to undermine Hall's advocacy of Pidgin, Gunther questioned Hall's knowledge of PNG linguistics. Hall's first-hand experience of PNG, Gunther told his audience, consisted of a 10-day boat trip up the coast twenty years previously:

> In that period he would not have had the time to consider the social and political effects of creating a bastard language out of what was then little more than a vehicle of communication in which directions were given and trade carried out. (45)

Gunther's speech exhibited all the stolid peevishness of a bull bothered by a persistent deer fly. Most of his presentation was concerned with batting away Frank Mihalic's pesky claims for Pidgin. Gunther's responses were that Pidgin was not a "real" language because it did not have a literature (the *Nupela*

Testamen and government/mission hand-outs did not count). He added that there were probably no more than 2,000 words in Pidgin, 70% of which derived from English anyway; therefore, it was reasonable to assume that Tok Pisin would gradually become more and more anglicized until it would simply disappear. As for Frank Mihalic's claim for more than 1 million Tok Pisin speakers, Gunther doubted whether more than 150,000 used it daily, and only then if they were forced to by circumstance. Gunther was sure that no one used Pidgin as a mother tongue.

As a special jibe in Mihalic's direction, Gunther wondered aloud whether anyone could even read the Pidgin translation of the *New Testament* that Mihalic was so proud of, since fewer natives read Pidgin than English (46ff).[17] Gunther worried that since there were so few Pidgin speakers in the world, the only place they could have a conversation would be in the British Solomon Islands (but then only if they did not try to conceptualize or speak in the abstract).

All impishness aside, Gunther was worried that a switch to Pidgin would cost more than the Administration's budget would bear. Since the cost of achieving universal primary education might add $1 million to educational expenses and, "say," an additional $1/2 million to convert curriculum materials to Pidgin, the cost of switching to Pidgin would be prohibitive. Gunther's solution to the conference's question was that more money should be sunk into English language instruction. In Gunther's mind it wasn't that the Administration had taken the wrong road, it was just that it hadn't been trying hard enough.

Only when it was clear to him that English had failed was he prepared to consider any other option --that is, that bastard Pidgin.[18]

Needless to say, most linguists were appalled by Gunther's speech. In the next issue of *Kivung: The Journal of the Linguistic Society of the University of Papua New Guinea,* editor Andras Balint could not resist the following:

> One of the participants in the Conference said that Pidgin 'has a limited and restricted vocabulary, perhaps no more than 2000 words.' One answer to this limited view of Pidgin came in the form of a dictionary which contains, in addition to twelve hundred Pidgin colloquial expressions, approximately 2000 sports terms in Melanesian Pidgin. (Editorial 2.2 [1969]) [19]

Even 7 years later, Thomas Dutton was just as acidic in his response to proponents of English as Balint had been. The colonial language was, in Dutton's opinion, wasteful of precious resources. Two-fifths to one-half of each school day was devoted to teaching subjects related to English. Yet the few students who reached university could read at only one-third the rate of Australian students at the same level (17). For those who never would reach tertiary education, English was a useless acquisition.

According to Dutton, the colonial administration had sold English to islanders as a cargo cult, when in fact the language simply maintained the colonial status quo. As far as national unity was concerned, English "creates division, while it supposedly unifies; it isolates people and separates them from their traditional societies; it creates elites who get further and further away from their relatives the higher they go and causes them to congregate in ugly unfriendly towns" (9).

Other responses to the official view of Tok Pisin were less shrill and much more patient. In 1966-67, Stephen Wurm was at pains to explain that:

> The Australian Administration did not adopt pidgin officially as the administrative language of the Territory of New Guinea, but unofficially, the language has been, and in virtually every respect still is, THE language of the Administration in almost all of its dealings with the native population, and it is the plain truth to say that without Pidgin, the administration of the Territory of New Guinea, or even the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly could simply not function. (13)

Why was Pidgin so popular? According to Wurm, it had its beginnings in New Guinea amongst returning labourers from the Queensland sugarcane fields, where Pidgin had served as a working language. The German Administration had used it to communicate with islanders and the islanders took it over as useful for trade. Contrary to Gunther's claim, Wurm asserted that Pidgin was prestigious in villages. Those people who could speak it could communicate with other tribal groups and with Europeans. Knowledge of Pidgin made a man employable. Since Tok Pisin used Melanesian grammar, it was easy for islanders to learn -- its logic was their logic. Since most of the lexicon was derived from English, Europeans thought it would be easy to speak and used it in daily converse with natives, which made Pidgin even more prestigious for islanders.

Wurm explained that Tok Pisin was mainly abused by two groups: English speakers for whom power and prestige were vested in standard English; and certain natives with vested interests in other languages, like Motu. The chief native resistance came, then, from Papuans who had the largest proportional representation among the newly-formed elite. The basic objections to Tok Pisin had political and cultural motivations, not linguistic ones. Concerning the charge that Tok Pisin was simply a debased derivative of English incapable of handling complex thought, Wurm referred to the origins of Middle English. Based on an Anglo-Saxon (Germanic) grammar with a word stock limited to the experience of pig-farming, hunting and fishing, English underwent a radical change with the Norman Invasion. By the twentieth century, two-thirds of the lexicon of English derived from French and Latin and the language was quite capable of accommodating complex notions in philosophy, art, and even technology (13ff).

What occurs during the decolonizing period was essentially a squaring off between two groups of change agents: one which looked reactionary (the Administration), and one which looked revolutionary (the linguists). But in the end, they were advocating the same thing: a single language meant to serve the purposes of the imported socio-political model, the nation-state. The specific programme of the linguists was not that Tok Pisin made sense as a national language, but that it needed standardization; i.e., development. This argument was at the core of Thomas Dutton's very controversial 1976 inaugural lecture at UPNG. Dutton was completely aware of his status as a change agent. He knew that the "aid" he was bringing in his proposal to use English only as an international language and Tok Pisin otherwise as the language of instruction from elementary school to university was unpopular with the elite and a non-issue for other islanders:

> I regret that I am an expatriate making this case for I think that a Papua New Guinean should be. I am consoled, however, by the thought that if anything comes of it some future Papua New Guinean Professor of Language will be able to make a very unique contribution to developing his country by helping to develop his country's own home-grown national language. (4)

Yet he *must* speak. Dutton was compelled to develop, to aid, and improve. In his view Tok Pisin was a viable language. It was only the disinterest demonstrated toward it by authorities that had prevented its developing any institutional possibilities. An "improved" variety of Tok Pisin, with a standardized grammar, dictionary, orthography, etc. would eliminate the confusion then being caused by the rapid proliferation of Pidgin dialects.[20] A national committee could be struck which would standardize usage and develop new words for the lexicon as needed (22ff). The English Department of UPNG and the Department of Education could be delegated to write curriculum materials for all levels of schooling. In the meanwhile the Evangelical Lutheran Church of PNG had available an entire curriculum and series of books on various subjects for grades 1-10. In addition, the KISIM SAVE series developed by SIL for primary students had been in use for many years. All of these Pidgin materials, developed in PNG, were ready made and cheap. Those university texts that referred to PNG alone (e.g. law books) could be written by UPNG staff. In Dutton's view, vernacular literacy should be achieved first and then succeeded by Tok Pisin. Only after public school was achieved and university begun would students learn English, and then only as a means of external communication.

Dutton's proposal was a definite "non-starter." It had stepped on everyone's linguistic and political toes. But it did represent the tenor of the academic linguistic harangue during decolonization. Clearly evident was its decolonizing zeal and its ultimate reliance on decolonizing ideology: the proliferation of the single-language nation-state. In the final analysis, the model was meant to reinforce, not disengage, the ties to Western culture. Elton Brash noted this anomaly in 1975 when he wrote that linguists were the only people in PNG seeking a one-language solution (1975, 321). Fr. Mihalic observed that framing the language situation as a problem for which a solution was required had become the hobby of certain Australian academics (99).[21]

C. Institutionalizing Tok Pisin: The Catholics Step In

> Dispela niuspepa emi ni bilong smok na tu em i ni bilong rabim as. Taim yu pinis long ritim yu putim gut na bihain bai yu inap long ritim gen.
> [The newspaper is not to roll cigarettes with, nor is it for wiping your arse. When you have read it put it away and later you can read it again.] -- from the masthead of the first issue (1970) of the *Bougainville Nius*

The academic debate over Tok Pisin was a sterile one in that it was not secured in any real programme of action and was not directly connected to any literary production. But another community of change agents saw decolonization as an opportunity for institutionalizing Tok Pisin. It took practical steps to do so. The Society of the Divine Word (SDV), the chief Roman Catholic mission organization in former New Guinea, established the fortnightly (and then weekly) Pidgin newspaper *Wantok* on August 5, 1970 in Wewak (Mihalic 90ff). The Catholics had always championed Pidgin over the vernaculars, primarily because their operations were so strong in New Guinea where Tok Pisin was prevalent (Frazer 63ff). The aim of *Wantok* was not religious, but the paper operated with a Christian philosophy. Its particular goal was to create "a forum for the Pisin writer" (Mihalic 90). Which it did. Pidgin translations of legends have been part of its Melanesian identity-building programme. By 1986, *Wantok* had published over 600 ancestral stories and its editor was receiving over 100 letters each week. Over the years, its weekly format has included poems, the "Kaunsila Traim" comic strip,[22] "Stori Tumbuna" (a folklore feature), and the all important letters-to-the-editor section that is the heart of PNG newspapers.

The idea for *Wantok* came (not surprisingly) from the ever-busy Fr. Frank Mihalic, who edited the paper for the first 5 years until Kevin Walcot became the editor. With Walcot's arrival, the paper was moved to Port Moresby where it could take advantage of cheaper air freight, reach a wider public, attract the services of trained journalists, and be closer to the sources of national news. *Wantok* has been very successful. In 1984, Walcot gave the weekly sales as 15,000, with an 8:1 ratio for readership (i.e. 120,000 people read it each week)

(Walcot 24ff). By 1986, Mihalic gives the figures as 20,000 (and 160,000 readers) with the entire newspaper operation indigenized (90). Renée Heyum, in her survey of PNG publishing, stated that during the period of decolonization, *Wantok* was the best source of information in PNG (Heyum 19). And certainly, *Wantok* writers have produced more Tok Pisin copy than any other source in the country.

Wantok was a useful tool for the decolonizing manufacture of the nation-state. During the 1970s it regularly carried features on how to deal with money, the postal service, and so on. It introduced the newly coined Pidgin words for Parliamentary procedure (mosen, sekenim mosen, muvin mosen, votim mosen) and gave wide coverage of the run-up to Independence (Mihalic 91). Its decolonizing stance has been ever-present throughout its 23 year existence. The publishing venture gradually grew (under the newly-formed Word Publishing Co.) to house *Wantok*; plus the well-received youth magazine *New Nation* (written in controlled English)[23]; *The Times of Papua New Guinea* (the only nationally-owned weekly in English); and then WEB Books (Word Educational Books).

But, as a change agency, Word Publishing has itself had problems with colonial structures and attitudes. PNG's new government showed complete disinterest in literacy, which continually undercut any indigenous publishing industry (Walcot 21). For example, from 1977-84, Word published *New Nation*, a magazine they had designated for school use. It was very successful, reaching a circulation high of 60,000. For many teachers, the syllabus and *New Nation* were their only teaching materials. *New Nation* was highly praised as the best magazine of its type in a developing country (Walcot 29).

However, Word could not keep the magazine going financially. Having to rely on printing facilities in Hong Kong meant 5-month delays for advertisers. The Department of Education bought the magazine centrally for one year. Then the government de-centralized the Department. *New Nation* was now at the mercy of 20 administratively inexperienced provincial governments, some of whom refused to buy the magazine because the illustrations did not depict ethnicities specific to their jurisdiction.[24] The national Government was uninterested in a bail-out. "Without a subsidy it [was] impossible to keep alive a magazine that must have a very strict advertizing code and must keep its cover price low" (Walcot 30). So *New Nation* folded.

Walcot's frustrations with the new Government was matched at times by the intransigence of foreign aid agencies. In an effort to find further markets for the publishing house, Walcot scouted in his own bookstores to see what people were buying. He noticed many urban women bought glossy Australian "Women's" magazines and were interested in the Children's Section. He decided that there would be a market for a women's magazine catering to the interests of urban PNG women. Over-committed financially, Word decided to seek funding from a foreign aid agency. However, money would only be forthcoming from the agency if the magazine catered to village women -- an illiterate group who did not buy magazines. The idea was put on the shelf.

In his development of *Wantok*, and then Word Publishing, Walcot took a "pioneering" approach. When *New Nation* foundered, partly because of difficulties with off-shore printing, he decided that the more services the organization could supply for itself, the more viable it would be. This was confirmed to him when he looked at the printing costs for *Wantok*. When Word began to consider publishing the English-language paper, *The Times of Papua New Guinea*, Walcot went to Misereor, the German Catholic bishops' agency for development, and obtained the money to buy a press. Once Word owned a press, Walcot realized he needed to keep it busy. This resulted in a third newspaper venture, the commercial printing of *Niugini Nius* (Walcot 33). With its outside funding, Word is thus able to subsidize those ventures that do not make money.

In 1984, Walcot was considering setting the printing company up as a separate company, expanding the retail stores and perhaps wholesaleing books. In addition, Word began in 1982 to publish educational books under the imprint, WEB. Word's goal was to supply low-cost readers to PNG's schools, which were woefully lacking in that area. Encouraged by the Department of Education, which still imported all of its books from or through Australia, WEB produced 8 titles in two years, with print runs of 5,000 each. In 1984, WEB planned to have 20 titles in print (Walcot 35).

In order to find authors and illustrators, WEB ran competitions in Word's newspapers. Each author was paid a flat fee for the first print run and royalties after that. The books were simple, black and white productions that could be sold to the provincial governments for $1.00, half what they were currently paying per annum per child for foreign texts. WEB also sold the books through its own bookshops and in drugstores. WEB planned to expand to the Social Studies curriculum as well as to produce a small series of reference books. The first of these, published in conjunction with the National Library, was to be a dictionary of parliamentary terms: one version in Pidgin and one in English. To supplement its own publishing ventures, WEB also began to work with the Department of Education to import books directly from the United Kingdom, thus avoiding the Australian middleman.

If *Wantok* and the other publishing ventures of Word Publishing[25] have been successful, why has Tok Pisin not arrived as a written language? Kevin Walcot notes that neo-colonialism is the strongest negative force for the entire publishing industry in PNG. Although there were over one million speakers of Tok Pisin in 1984 and although the language was spoken daily in 18 of the country's 20 provinces, PNG still had one of the lowest literacy rates in the world. Walcot's observations about language use are important to follow. In the first place literacy was not a priority among most people. PNG was and is still primarily an oral culture where reading is considered anti-social and useless. What is more, agricultural workers, miners and many businessmen can make very good money even though they are illiterate; so their individual motivation to read is low. Add to this the high number of "literate" elementary school leavers who can obtain no work, and the white man's literacy has very little appeal. In Walcot's words, "Once you are literate, you can read the income tax form; and who would ever want to do that?" (20)

Walcot also observed that islanders use a variety of languages for a variety of purposes: Tok Ples when talking to *wantoks*; English for talking to foreigners or for formal/administrative matters; Tok Pisin out of the classroom, on the telephone to friends, for sports or for fun, on the bus, on the police radio, etc. He noted that his own readers bought the foreign-owned daily (probably for prestige, since most can't read it), but then bought *Wantok* for sports and the letters (17). His observations confirmed those of Elton Brash who claimed that multi-lingualism was both normal and unremarkable for islanders. He wrote that in PNG, most people moved easily among their own vernacular, church languages,[20] Hiri Motu, or Tok Pisin. Two language conversations were common with or without an interpreter. Brash's conclusion regarding "the language issue" in PNG was that it only became an issue once the European notion of the nation-state was introduced. By and large most islanders continued to do what they had always done -- use several languages to suit their practical daily purposes (321ff). That is, they resisted the uni-lingual model in their own quiet way.

As for Kevin Walcot, in 1984, he was waiting. He was convinced that sooner or later the government would realize that 300,000 school children and 40,000 adults in non-formal education constituted a sizeable market. Dazzled by the prospects of one million readers, he contemplated profitable print runs. In the meantime, Word Publishing covered as many bases as possible: it published in English, controlled English, and Tok Pisin. And it was prepared to wait for the education system, which was dedicated to English as an official language, to break down. When it did, Word Publishing would be ready (19).

D. Assessing the Role of Educational and Linguistic Change Agents

While Kevin Walcot waits to pounce on an unsuspecting Pidgin market, it might be useful to re-appraise the role change agents have played in the crucial realms of education, language, and literacy in PNG during the establishment of enabling links in the literary institution. It has long been a cliché that colonialism is monochromatically negative and that decolonization opens up the colour spectrum to choice. This is certainly the assumption behind John Lynch's categorically condemnatory UPNG inaugural lecture of 1979. In "Church, State, and Melanesia," he charged that both church and state have provided a literacy limited by their individual ideologies. In Lynch's opinion the church's extremely focussed colonial filter had eliminated most secular, indeed most Western, culture from the knowledge-world of their new literates. Lynch regarded this abnegation of their responsibility to education as nothing short of criminal (9ff). He called this practice "linguistic underdevelopment."

Despite the efforts of SIL and, to a lesser extent the success of *Wantok*, the literary results were too little, too late. At the door of church practice Lynch lay this basket of sins: 1) prime responsibility for the loss of vernacular oral literature; 2) the high rate of illiteracy because there was just nothing interesting available to read; 3) failure to develop critical reading skills because students were taught that the "Word" (i.e. the Bible) must be believed; 4) restricted access to knowledge.

The state fared no better, in Lynch's view. It taught English as an end, rather than as a means, largely because of the ethnocentrism of its Australian worldview. Since English was considered infinitely superior to vernaculars, all important messages in the colony were worded in English. This practice did not filter out so much as deny access to knowledge and, therefore, to power. Worse yet, the practice had continued into the operations of the elite neo-colonial government of PNG. At the door of state practice, Lynch lay these accusations: 1) seriously damaging Melanesian cultural pride; 2) developing an "apartheid" state where education and language defined the lines of power; 3) refusing to take the linguistic means available in a lingua franca to rectify the situation. A linguist and proponent of Tok Pisin, Lynch had his own ideology. It breaks through the document at every turn as he urges the establishment of a strong language policy which would co-ordinate translation, publication, standardization of languages, literacy training, and so on. His own magic bullet.

Lynch would consider himself part of decolonization, an agent of change in a better time. But is there such a distinct break between colonization and decolonization after all?[27] The archival evidence for the period suggests not. Although the rate of change had increased manifold, the subject was still colonialism, the change agents had been generated out of the colonial system, the change strategies still reflected European ideology, the change targets remained the same. Like most decolonizing agents, Lynch worked hard to change the face of colonialism. He and his cohorts were meant to remove the appearance of direct control in order to substitute the appearance of guided indigenous (i.e. indirect foreign) control. The linguistic pique of his argument devolved partly from the battle among colonial agencies that must result from such a shift in strategy. Inasmuch as this aspect of decolonization involved no more than changing the race of the person occupying a certain colonial position, it has little interest for the study of literature.

However, the testy flavour of Lynch's lecture devolved also from an intellectual liberalism that was revolted by any form of subjugation. This intellectual stance was rooted in the traditions of European Romanticism, which itself provided the current European definition of literature (Schmidt 1989). Lynch's liberalism rested on a set of values that would promote the indigenous over the foreign; the rights of the many over the privilege of the few, and so on. This Romantic tendency was the unmanageable part of decolonization. It produced a gap between the old colonial practice and the new. Lynch's liberalism is evident in his advocacy of Tok Pisin, the indigenous language. In other places in PNG, the same pattern occurred: foreign change agents valorizing indigenous language and culture. Never mind to what end.

It is into this gap that indigenous cultural self-expression (discussed in Chapter 6) was able to (re)-assert itself, though in unpredictable ways. The gap produces what European academics like to call "ephemera": the literary system of comic books, school anthologies, market literature, letters-to-the-editor, etc. that usually lacks post-processing. The gap produces syncretic forms that are often incomprehensible linguistically or generically to foreign literary specialists. It revives oral systems that have up until recently been the province of ethnologists and which are equally incomprehensible to western literary eyes. The problem for western academics, of course, is that this activity does not fit into the western concept of a literary system. It has its own cultural logic, which is not necessarily European.

The cultural opportunities made available by decolonization, then, are seldom realized in ways expected or hoped for by decolonizing agents. When recognizable literature is produced, it is usually the result of the main thrust of European ideology, that is, the process of nation-building. How do indigenous writers feel about this process? John Waiko, one of the first generation of PNG writers, a doctoral product of European education, and a long-time commentator on PNG cultural affairs, said this in a 1972 speech at UPNG:

> The literature we have begun to produce is typically colonial -- concerned, that is, with the issues of colonial contact. Villagers are alienated from their own cultural traditions. Even the books, plays and articles we do produce seldom reach the villages. This is because the content and the form of our literature and drama are designed for a different audience. (*Kovave* 43)[28]

The works Waiko was describing represented what western academics generally call post-colonial literature. As Waiko observed, this literature was not **post-** anything, but remained a part of the colonial spectrum. Waiko would have liked to see a true end to cultural colonialism in a PNG literature that went about its own affairs. His programme, while admittedly confused, was explosive:

> In this country I feel the role of literature should be to destroy the present basis of the education system. The problem is how can we do it, because many of our people have become part of the system, including myself. One way would be to produce a kind of literature which would undermine the basis of the elite and bring a cultural revolution. I would like to see the government of this country, or **any interested people** [emphasis mine], encourage and help to establish vernacular schools in the rural areas. (43)

Waiko was indicating in this passage that the literary system of which he was a "confused member," had no natural foundation. It was supported by an education system and a language that allowed him to speak to his fellow elite and to foreigners, but not to his own people. As an artist, he was part of an aesthetic mirage. Yet it is exactly this body of texts that has been labelled "PNG" literature in western academic circles. According to Waiko, the linguistic and cultural revolution in education would produce a climate in which indigenous aesthetic products would again become part of the air that **everyone** breathed. Even the definition of literature would be different:

> A new literature should come out from the dance drama and the way in which the elders tell their stories, which

> both should be incorporated into the vernacular schools. (*Kovave* 45)

If Waiko's plan were to be employed, the gap generated by the switch in colonial strategies could become the very fabric of education itself. Would "ephemera" then be converted into canon? Who knows. It didn't happen. Not in the 1970s, or in the 1980s.

However, things began to shift in the 1990s. In 1989, a National Language Policy was finally adopted which allowed grade one to become a linguistic bridge between vernacular pre-school and elementary English courses (*The University This Week* No. 31 Aug. 10 [1990] 3). This policy has an unusually PNG flavour to it. It "excludes no languages. Rather, the Policy commits the government to assisting any language group anywhere in the country which demonstrates its desire to establish a community-based literacy programme" (Wroge 1990, 7).

In essence the government has gone from a completely closed system to one where anything in possible. Its goals are initial literacy for all people in their own languages, plus opportunities to transfer, at any age, to a national language literacy programme in Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu, or English. Special opportunities for such training are made available to women. In addition, the government commits to maintaining and expanding literacy skills already acquired.

In consequence of this governmental move, the Department of Education officially re-named the English section in the Curriculum Development Division, as the Language and

Literacy Section. Ironically, the Section's first staff members are three SIL members. Part of their task is to inform the recently-formed National Literacy Committee (Malone 1989, 15-17).

The official attention to literacy has had the obvious effect of forcing the government to find more places within the education system for children. The PNG school system has traditionally not had many spaces after the elementary levels. The figures below show that most students drop out or are squeezed out before grade 10. As a consequence, spaces in PNG's tertiary institutions go begging for people to take them up:

1993 spaces available for gr. 1	50000
6	35000
7	12000
10	11000
11-12	1000
tertiary	2500

[These figures were obtained during an interview in March 1993 in Edmonton with Sengodan, Asst. to the Commissioner for Higher Education, and the administrator who allocates all these spaces.]

In an attempt to gain the necessary spaces, the government is simply starting school later. Tok Ples pre-schools will now occupy the slots of pre-school to grades 1 and 2. These 3-4 years of schooling will take place in the vernaculars. Elementary school will now occupy slots formerly slated as grades 3-8. (In other words, children will enter the national education system at about ages 8-10.) This level is called the community school and is administrered by the provincial governments, which are now allowed to use vernaculars. English language instruction will start at the grade 7 level, which is situated at the legal school leaving age. This method of shifting resources is calculated to move more students into the high schools, which are at present only 60% utilized. The system has indeed changed.

V. SUMMARY

What the linguistic and educational battle of the agencies did for European-style literature was to set up sites for literary activity in two parallel literary systems: one organized around the missions and the other around university interests. Each of these systems functioned using a preferred language. But the incomplete and unstable nature of the two systems opened another site for genuinely indigenous cultural activity, which was left to organize itself. In their use of language and literature, the missions appeared to be more successful, or at least, more focussed than secular agencies. The missions had learned from earlier experience that transferring a foreign ideology could work across languages and cultures so long as the change target could wholeheartedly adopt the philosophy informing that ideology, and so long as he could gain early control over its daily expression. Because of this experience, the PNG missions worked to transmit a *specific* idea: faith in a Christian deity and primacy of a body of knowledge contained in a sacred text. In order to successfully plant their idea, Christian change agents actively incorporated indigenous linguistic and cultural resources into its content and expression. They knew that ideas were not language-bound, and that "good" ideas were not culture-bound. Then they secured the transfer by granting complete autonomy to specially-trained indigenous successors. During the period of political decolonization, part of the strength of the missions was that they had already indigenized and that their message (or ideology) had never changed. They had little re-tooling to do as far as technology was concerned; writing was always a tool for literacy and translation and all in the service of conversion.

The major problem for the missions with this ideological transfer was that they chose the wrong technology to disseminate it: i.e. writing, as opposed to orality ("song" in Glen Bays' words). Therefore, despite a phenomenal effort, they failed to move past the most rudimentary levels in its use. For three decades, they have offered entry-level writing, reading, and editing courses without seeming to progress any further. Even today, such key agencies as SIL are still propped up by foreign change agents and foreign financing. The mission's literacy efforts were consistently blocked on a number of fronts. In the first place, their own ideology restricted their literary focus to such an extent that they provided nothing worth reading (outside of the basic religious texts). Then there was native resistance to a useless technology. Finally, there were the policies and practices of the other major educational and linguistic player, the colonial Administration and its successor, the government of PNG.

The secular authority in PNG was transmitting not a specific idea of European culture, but a cross-section: the superiority of western culture to begin with, notions of an exchange economy and then of the nation-state, the nuclear family, new ideas about the relationships between the genders and among generations, and so on. These notions might be framed from time to time as "civilized" or "modern," as "industrialized," or "democratic." However, they changed over time and were too unfocussed to succeed as a coherent ideology in the sense that Christianity had. What is more, secular change agents (the Australian Administration, then the PNG elite) regarded these notions as culture-bound; therefore they clung to written English as a vehicle for transfer. Even the linguists fit the paradigm in their unswerving insistence on a unilingual policy in an obviously multilingual country. Autonomy could not be granted in as discrete a manner as could be managed within the organization of Christian churches. Political autonomy might exist. But, in the presence of massive amounts of foreign aid, economic autonomy was impossible, thus making political autonomy somewhat suspect. The education system froze out or confused most people allowing only a very small number of assimilated islanders to power. As Hooley and others have concluded, the transfer of a foreign ideology must perforce remain incomplete under such circumstances. The texts that were produced served political, not aesthetic, purposes, their large-scale production dropped off dramatically after Independence was achieved.

NOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1. It should be clear from the outset that I am speaking in this document only of the schools available to the indigenous population. There has always been and remains to this day a second system of education in PNG of schools reserved for an "international" education. The language question is a non-issue in these schools. Since Independence, those islanders who can afford the fees have sent their children to these schools to take their place alongside the children of expatriates.

2. In German New Guinea, the attitude before World War I was quite the opposite. The Administration had plans in 1913 to institute a national education system with compulsory primary attendance and standardization of the curriculum. However, when New Guinea became an Australian Mandated Territory after the war, policies regarding education lapsed to resemble those in Papua. Since this document is not concerned with the history of education as such it will treat the two colonies as one, unless specifically stipulated.

3. A similarly unsuccessful government attempt to encourage aesthetic production occurs in the early 1970s with the inception of the Literature Bureau. The parallels are somewhat suggestive for the effects government policies have on aesthetic systems.

4. After two decades, mathematics, science and the social sciences still predominate in curriculum and research interests within the Department.

5. At the secondary level it was a different story. English was sometimes enforced with rigour: "Those who transgressed the rules and were caught speaking a vernacular or Pidgin were punished by being made to cut grass, dig drains, pick up stones, surrender their food rations, or stay in school for the weekend" (Powell 1979, 19). See also B. Minol's Diss. for a discussion of this practice.

6. Kenneth Pike and Eugene Nida were two of the earliest graduates of Townsend's descriptive linguistics classes in the

mid 1930s. Pike, along with Pickett, Elson, Longacre, and others, was a pioneer of tagmemics (Hooley 63-64).

7. After quoting these figures, Lynch proceeded to blast SIL and other mission agencies for dereliction in their duty to provide adequate numbers of "interesting" secular literacy materials. In his opinion, "How the Jews Lived, "Houses of the World," "Stone Age Men in Britain," and "Flies are Your Enemy," simply don't constitute a "body of literature" (12). Although Lynch's list made its point, it is only fair to point out that SIL supported the Literature Bureau's Literature Competitions, especially the categories for writing in Pidgin. It also actively promoted writers' training workshops whether initiated from within or outside the Christian community. And it supported writing society demands for copyright legislation (*PNGW* 8 [1972]: 22).

8. Franklin was alluding to the fact that the number of places available to children in the public education system could in no way match the number of children wishing places. In a 1977 article, Bishop Ashton noted that only one-third of the Standard 6 class could go on to high school. A further 40% of the Standard 8 students had to leave the system because of lack of places. Ashton estimated that only 18 out of every 100 children who started school could obtain places in a National High School, yet the whole system was geared toward that level (Ashton 139).

9. Note that the government's Adult Education budget in 1973 was only .02% of all moneys spent on education (Leadley 5-6). Leadley claimed that "a national plan for adult out-of-school education has never been a part of the colonial pattern, and hence not an integral part of the new nation and its leadership" (12).

10. A 1972 *READ* article, "Literacy: A National Must, An International Obligation," clearly tied literacy to independence struggles from tyrranical regimes (viz. the Russian Revolution) and from colonialism (viz. Indonesia). It then cited illiteracy as the major impediment to development, a moral obligation on the part of governments ("Literacy 1972," 30-32).

11. Papua Besena and the place of micronationalism in the development of literary life in PNG is discussed in Chapter 4.

12. Dutton explains that the 1975 Education Plan expressed departmental, not governmental, desires. By 1976, the National Executive Council had not accepted the vernacular sections. As a result, no students registered in the university's Diploma in Language and Education courses in 1976. This opportunity had been established to meet the needs of the vernacular education policy. Without a policy, teachers would simply not be able to use the training (Dutton 34-35).

13. For an informed description of the Tok Ples Skul project, see Delpit and Kemelfield in King.

14. Dutton lines the sides up as those who are for Tok Pisin: Wurm, Laycock, McElhanon and Litteral; and those who are 'agin' it: F.C. Johnson, Smith, and Gunther (Dutton 37 n.24).

15. Brash, who taught literature at UPNG and who married a PNG playwright, cynically remarked that recent proposals "for shaping the language along linguistically 'pleasing' lines seemed to indicate a desire among linguists to atone for their past hostility or indifference towards Pidgin and a fatuous wish to change their role from ineffectual arbiters of the language to equally ineffectual controllers of its growth" (1975, 321).

16. Hiri Motu is derived from the vernacular language, Motu.

17. The *Nupela Testamen* had become, by 1986, the best-selling book ever in PNG with some 10,000 copies in circulation (Mihalic 98).

18. As retrograde as Gunther's position may appear in hindsight, it was representative. Kirsty Powell reported that when Leo Hannet first began publishing plays in Pidgin, a memo was circulated in Administration circles questioning whether Hannet was a Communist (K. Powell 1979, 39 n.4).

19. Balint's footnote informs the reader that Balint himself is the author of this phrase book and sports dictionary, available from Balint at the low cost of $1.25, inc. postage.

20. Peter Mühlhäusler noted in the Sept. 1973 UPNG conference on Melanesian Pidgin that New Guinea Pidgins had four major sociolects: Bush Pidgin, Rural Pidgin, Urban Pidgin, and Tok Masta (In Brash 1975, 327 n.8).

21. In a paper entitled "Pidgineering," Don Laycock noted the irony of white immigrants, whose grasp of Pidgin was poor, setting themselves up as judge and advocate (in Brash 327 n.7).

22. "Kaunsila Traim" is a highly successful comic strip whose subject is appropriate technology (e.g. Why have a toilet? How do you make one cheaply?). The butt of the humour is a character who can never see the point to innovation.

23. That is, with a limited word stock and syntax.

24. This was a problem for Word with WEB school books as well. The publisher had made sure that the illustrations were general, with boys and girls wearing short kinky hair, or large bushy hair. But housing varies dramatically depending on locale in PNG. The publisher could not avoid occasionally identifying a certain story with a certain place, simply through the illustrations (Walcot 36).

25. Although *Wantok* was at one time considered a "Catholic" paper, it has managed to grow over the years into an ecumenical organization. Similarly, although Word Publishing began as a Catholic-funded institution, in 1982 the Board was broadened to include representatives of the three other main churches in PNG: the United, the Lutheran, and the Anglican. Word Publishing has been for some years now associated with the Melanesian Christian Council. MCC is discussed in some detail in Chapter 4.

26. Church languages were vernaculars chosen by the missions for use in their areas. This choice of one among the many vernaculars available and its artificial expansion for mission operations has never spread to the point where any given church language could be considered a lingua franca strong enough to compete with Hiri Motu or Tok Pisin.

27. Chamberlain suggests that the seeds of decolonization had been present during the whole colonization period. That is, the system had constructed itself so that it could be eventually deconstructed. A cynic might add -- so that it could then be re-constructed in a new guise (1-11).

28. The text of the original lecture is published in Ulli Beier's journal *Kovave* (4.1 [1972]:43-45). Beier taught creative writing at UPNG a with strong emphasis on valorizing native culture. In *Kovave*, the paper reads like the paper of a student of such a teacher. Its focus is the revival of indigenous cultural structures and the role literature can play in that revival. The text was then re-published in 1973 in *READ* (8.1 [1973]: 5-8). The differences in focus make an interesting study in the role of the editor during decolonization. For the *READ* article, the text has been heavily edited for style (i.e. its English phrasing is much more polished) and the order of the paragraphs (and even the order of parts of the paragraphs) has been altered so as to emphasize government inaction in vernacular education.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSFER OF INSTITUTIONS I:
THE LITERATURE BUREAU AND THE MISSION-BASED SYSTEM

I. INTRODUCTION: FUNCTIONAL LINKAGES

The struggle to establish enabling links for the institutions of PNG's literary system has never ceased since the late 1960s. But what seems to characterize this struggle is a simultaneous attempt by literary change agents to establish all the other links as well. Indeed Milton Esman points out that leadership may be working on all four types of linkage at once. In PNG, at least, it seems likely that such frenetic activity was a requirement during decolonization. The rate of change was so fast that change agencies and/or their agents had to be and do all things at once. By necessity then, some agencies (in fact, some individual agents) had to assume all four actant roles and take responsibility for establishing all linkages themselves.

In PNG the beginnings of both the university- and the mission-based literary systems were organized around a central institution and a central change agent with almost no crossover between the systems. When there were links between the systems, it was through the intermediary of a "neutral" agency, mainly the Literature Bureau, the Creative Centre for the Arts (CCA), and later the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS), or through a few writers whose personal interests were served by both systems.[1] Esman writes that the exchange relations that develop among real or potential institutional competitors performing, or seeking to perform, similar functions and services represent the functional linkages of those institutions (1972, 33). The relations themselves generally manifest as programmes of the competing institutions. In PNG each system built up a parallel and often mutually exclusive set of institutions and roles intended to provide self-sufficiency. Each system inaugurated training courses for potential writers and established journals in which newly-written work was quickly made available. Each system attempted to fuel the writing process by encouraging writers to draw on indigenous oral tradition. Each system developed relations with publishing firms for more ambitious projects like autobiographies, anthologies, and novels.

Both systems made use of the National Literature Competitions as a means of gaining public awareness and prestige; both made use of newspapers and radio as publishing venues. Both used newspapers as a forum for debate over literary issues. Both systems developed writers' unions and became involved in promoting writers' festivals and conferences. They each attempted to develop editors. And they each tried to provide a critical framework for literature, not only within the "Letters" section of the newspapers, but in scholarly journals and conferences as well. Finally, they each became attached to a broader cultural impulse in the country by participation in a specific cultural institution: the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, or the Melanesian Institute. At first systemic integrity was maintained by these parallel institutions and by the fact that neither of the central change agents had met one another, or had even tried to meet. They knew of one another, though (Bays interview; Beier letter).

Both Ulli Beier (1967-71; 1974-78) and Glen Bays (1970-73; 1979-81; 1984-1985) generated an astonishing number of institutional structures and elicited prodigious literary production in a very few years. They were able to accomplish this by investing themselves with the four actant roles and by personally controlling the institutional linkages. They were a special type of change agent in that each of them acted as an institution. This may be a feature of decolonization as far as literature is concerned. We have already seen examples of this behaviour to some extent with F.E. Williams and then with Kevin Walcot. It produces instant and rather flashy results but, since it is based on the presence and personality of individuals, it tends to collapse almost immediately when those individuals leave. By way of contrast, institutions like the Literature Bureau and SIL, which were not organized on a central charismatic agent, have managed to survive, so long as they have been supported by governmental or non-governmental funding.[2]

II. ADMINISTRATIVE MEDIATION AND THE LITERATURE BUREAU

Fundamental to early literary production and straddling the gap between both shadow systems was the Literature Bureau. It was created in 1968 on colonial models already established in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific (Maynard 1971b, 17). The Literature Bureau was meant to give safe expression to any anti-colonial feelings that might arise during decolonization and to organize national sentiment for the process of nation-building (Lahui interview). Discussion had begun as early as 1966 among Administration officials, representatives of SIL, the Lutheran Church, and other mission bodies as to how to create an indigenous literature. When these talks stalled, the Administration proceeded with a plan to establish the Literature Bureau under the Department of Information and Extension Services (DIES). It was to publish a quarterly magazine and promote the writing and publication of creative texts. Its first director was to be New Zealand poet, Louis Johnson, who had experience with the United Nations and with literature programmes elsewhere in the South Pacific (Schild 76ff).

In assessing the Literature Bureau's participation in the literary life of PNG, it is constructive to look at other colonial Literature Bureau operations. The East Africa Literature Bureau (EALB), for instance, was established in 1948 under the joint administration of the three governments of East Africa. Its architect was Dr. Charles Richards, a missionary who had already spent 12 years working with writers in the region. Under Richards, the EALB had acted to teach writers, promote and publish their work, establish libraries to house their work, and create literary magazines for critical appraisal (Holdsworth 18; Richards 14-15; East 187). The EALB provided, in other words, all four actant roles in one well-funded clearly directed institutional body: a literary mini-system, if you like. Furthermore, it maintained these roles until other institutions were able to assume them. The libraries were eventually taken over by the three governments involved. The writers course, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, was taken over by the University of East Africa, and so on. In cases where a role could not be transferred, the EALB continued to support it, as it has with its Kenyan publishing operation, for example.

The PNG Literature Bureau was not so nearly ambitious in its inception, so stable in its funding, nor so clear about its priorities. Nor was it so fortunate in the long tenure of one, committed director. When Louis Johnson arrived at the Bureau, he was its only staff member. For a year he worked on the first issue of the proposed journal. However, left without direction as to how he was to promote literature, without any approved financing for the proposed journal, and feeling that the Literature Bureau was a redundant arm of DIES' existing Publications Branch, he resigned his post (Schild 76ff). Considering the eventual fate of the Literature Bureau and the trail of bureaucratic tangles that beset the daily lives of its future director/editors, Johnson likely acted in his own best interests. The ironic footnote to Johnson's frustrations with DIES came in 1971. Johnson had just published a collection of poems with Jacaranda, called *Land Like a Lizard*. These poems of his experiences in PNG were reviewed by PNG poet Kumalau Tawali in *New Guinea Writing*, the very journal Johnson had failed to establish. In the review, Johnson became just another tourist:

> Louis Johnson has shown in his poems that he has tried to understand the New Guinean mind. But try as he could, he still holds certain prejudices, and does not really understand the intricacies of the New Guinean mind at

> both the lower and more advanced levels. His attempt, however, presents the challenge to New Guinean writers that there is a rich source from which they could draw their own themes....these are not real New Guinea poems. Vincent Eri's book, *The Crocodile* -- though it is a novel -- carries with it the authority of what one means by *real* 'New Guinea writing.' (3 [1971]: 13)

A. The Tenure of Don Maynard: 1970-72

Johnson's successor was Australian poet, Don Maynard, who tried hard to articulate a clear programme for the Literature Bureau from the outset. Its official purpose was:

> to stimulate reading among the newly literate people of Papua New Guinea and to encourage publication of materials by them. These publications may be in English or in a lingua franca such as New Guinea Pidgin or Motu. (Maynard 1971b, 17)

Within this framework, Maynard defined literacy as the task of the Department of Education and providing material to support literacy as the task of the Literature Bureau. The literacy material would come from PNG writers. These aims of the Literature Bureau clearly supported the work of the SIL and the Department of Education and should have complemented the work of *Kovave*, the newly-created literary journal at the university. The assumption was that oral literature could transfer into written. Maynard's method crystallized around encouraging islanders to "transcribe their native legends and tales, and thus preserve them for later generations in dramatic or other literary forms" (19).[3] Maynard felt the logical creative outcome would be in playwriting, given the strong tradition of performance art on the islands. His hope was that creative writing would not be an end in itself, but would lead to much needed indigenous texts on "law, education, agriculture, sociology, politics, economics" (19). Out of these short-term socio-political goals the inception of a viable literary system was obviously not possible. Yet the zeal of Literature Bureau directors and the enthusiasm of islanders for creative writing has kept the Bureau (or a form of it) operational ever since.

In his role at the helm of the Literature Bureau, Maynard had to negotiate the rough waters of Administration politics, just as Louis Johnson had. Furthermore, as director of a governmental institution, he had to establish links with all those people interested in literature. In Maynard's case, this meant liaison with both shadow systems: the one organized around UPNG's Language and Literature Department and the other around the Christian Training Centre at Madang. He was more successful with the missions and with writers than with his own Administration or the university: he came to grief over a "political" article in his own journal, *New Guinea Writing*, in 1971 and resigned in 1972; and Ulli Beier, the magnetic impresario of literature at the university wanted little to do with representatives of a "colonial" government (Beier letter).

At first, Maynard wanted to set up a publishing house for new writers, but the Administration was uninterested in such costly ventures, so the Literature Bureau contented itself with substitutes. The only book publication the Bureau ever managed was a collection called *Stories of Papua New Guinea - Book I*, which was advertised in issue 14 (1974) of *NGW* as the first in a series of short stories and legends for the newly literate majority and for upper primary schools. The book was supplied to primary schools free of charge. There was never a second volume.

If book publishing was not to be a programme of the Literature Bureau, Maynard tried to establish the Bureau as an advocate for literature. As a "neutral" governmental body, the Bureau would act as a clearing house for its own efforts, commercial publishers, the mission presses, SIL, and Administration departments. Printed texts would be channelled through "news agencies, bookshops, public and village libraries, co-operatives, and local government councils" (Maynard 1970b, 32). Although this grand scheme was never realized, the director did his best to inform his readers of all literary activities in the colony, no matter which system supported them; this information was generally in the form of advertisements for publishers, information about writing courses, extensive biographical notes detailing the literary achievements of all *(P)NGW*'s[4] writers, interviews with anyone involved in literature, reports on professional activities, etc. *(P)NGW* was the only literary journal in the country to provide these services.

Publishing opportunities within PNG in the late 1960s and early 1970s were very few. There were no native publishing concerns; the foreign-owned companies that sold textbooks to the Administration and published newspapers on the island were only just beginning to realize the possibilities of the PNG market. The editors of *(P)NGW* had to set priorities for their own journal, yet expand opportunities for writers wherever possible. *(P)NGW*, for instance, never published drama: its 25-page format would not allow the length of a drama. Nor would its mandate allow the politically controversial tenor of most drama produced during this period. The journal did, however, regularly offer to ABC (later NBC) for dramatization the plays that had been submitted to the Literature Competitions. Many of these were produced. In later years, stories sent to *PNGW* were offered to the Film Unit at DIES to develop as films (*Mana Annual* [1974]: 33). Once the Centre for Creative Arts (CCA) was established, the Literature Bureau co-operated with UPNG and the Department of Education in publishing anthologies. Finally, several of the poets whose work appeared in the Literature Bureau's journal (including Maynard himself) published with Beier's Papua Pocket Poet (PPP) series.

In addition to these Bureau duties, Don Maynard was personally active in promoting PNG writers. The PNG issue of *Overland* 47 (1971) appeared after repeated letters to its editor, S. Murray-Smith. The issue contained stories, poems, memoirs, book reviews, and essays mostly by PNG writers. Many of the contributing authors were *NGW* authors. But the issue also contained articles on PNG trade unions by Albert Maori Kiki, on UPNG student politics by Martin Buluna, and one on folklore by Leo Hannet. In the next issue of the journal, 48 (1971), Maynard reviewed *Home of Man: The People of New Guinea*, by Ulli Beier and Paul Cox. After a glowing review, Maynard lamented the loss of Beier to Nigeria in 1971, stating that he "will be sorely missed, by all the writers and readers of this country" (49). Although *Overland* never again featured a PNG issue (not even for Independence), PNG poets Jack Lahui, Russell Soaba, and Don Maynard contributed poems to the journal over the next decade. Maynard also convinced the editor of the Madras journal *Poet* to feature PNG poetry. The March 1972 Pacific issue featured poems by Kumalau Tawali, Apisai Enos, Meokoro Opa, and Maynard himself. Once again Maynard had tried to represent a variety of PNG writing, rather than a narrow elitist version of it. The other notable feature of these ventures was his personal involvement. All the literary change agents during decolonization displayed this commitment to, which verges on outright identification with, the colonized peoples of PNG.

Don Maynard even joined with Ulli Beier to publicize the first PNG novel, Vincent Eri's *The Crocodile* (1969).[5] Maynard's aim was simply to promote literature, but the Administration saw in this author an excellent opportunity to pursue its own interests. It latched on to Eri as the ideal type for the new PNG writer. A Superintendent of Primary Education, Eri was given important committee work and portrayed in the government publication, *Australian External Territories* (May 1970) as the model assimilé: honest, intelligent, fair-minded and hard-working. "I feel serving my country would be the best thing...." Calculated to ease the minds of twitchy Administration officials were passages like this: "Unionism is still close to his heart although he is no longer a militant" (Lloyd 23). It is plain that, whatever the goals of its director, the Literature Bureau, because of its Administration links, had consistently to strike non-combative ground.[6]

In addition to publishing, Maynard felt the Literature Bureau should establish a writing school for beginning writers. He was very conscious of the fact that there was no written tradition at all in PNG. The few literary skills that had been acquired would soon be lost if entertaining reading materials were not available. Ulli Beier had begun teaching writing courses in Rabaul High School[7] in 1968 after he had convinced officials in the Department of Education of the need. This was a pilot scheme on the part of the Department and part of Beier's strategy for convincing the university of its own need to teach creative writing. Beier had begun the courses in the style he would later adopt at the university. He would take only the best. High school students were asked to submit two pieces of writing. Stories which imitated traditional literature were not accepted because Beier felt they would not demonstrate the author's style. Over 300 submissions were received. Ten authors were chosen for a one-week course where they were introduced to lyric, prose and drama. Three future published authors attended these courses: Jacob Simet, Vincent Eri, and Kumalau Tawali (Schild 83ff).

Then, as the situation changed at the university, Beier gave the courses over to Don Maynard, who planned to work with people from UPNG and the Department of Education (Teacher Education Division) (Maynard 1970b, 31). At the Wewak courses in 1970 his fellow instructors were UPNG student, Kumalau Tawali, and Goroka Teachers College (GTC) student, John Kaniku (*PNGW* 2 [1970]: 6). With his populist approach, Maynard began the second Wewak Writers Course in

1970 with 20 students. They produced "75 original English or Pidgin poems or translations of traditional songs, 5 plays, and 40 short stories or legendary tales" (Maynard 1971b, 19). From Wewak and Rabaul, the courses were expanded to Mount Hagen and Alotau. In 1973 the Bureau was responding to more requests from New Britain and Western districts (*PNGW* 10 [1974]: 14). Maynard enjoyed teaching and often participated in the writing courses offered by Glen Bays at the Christian Training Centre (CTC) at Nobonob. Bays reported a good working relationship with Maynard. Their approach seems to have been similar: to get as many people as possible writing and then to let them make their own way (Bays interview, March 1993).

The journal Louis Johnson had tried to establish manifested itself immediately in 1970 as *New Guinea Writing* under Don Maynard. In pre-independence Papua New Guinea, naming was nearly as great a problem as language choice. In his first editorial, Maynard defended the title as the one best known worldwide for the geographic area that included West Irian,[8] Papua, New Guinea, and the offshore islands. Since *NGW* partly aimed at an expat readership, he argued it was necessary to use a well-known descriptive tag for the journal; otherwise, white readers might become confused.[9] Maynard hastened to explain that the journal was representative of the *whole* region. But his arguments were unconvincing. They reeked of bureaucratic decree but, to Maynard's credit, this was the only occasion in the four issues he edited where the strain of working for DIES showed through.

The persistent use of the first person plural pronoun in Maynard's and then Roger Boschman's editorials underlined the fact the the journal was part of a specific strategy of decolonization, where the colonial Administration assumed the voice of the indigenous population to make it seem that there *was* a voice. Eventually a specially-trained indigenous voice would be substituted (in this case, that of Jack Lahui). The assumption was that the transfer simply involved a change in the name of the person occupying a certain chair. Maynard's first editorial was at pains to mention that, saving the editorial, everything in the magazine was written by islanders.

Maynard edited the first four issues (1970-72) of *NGW*.[10] The magazine averaged about 20-25 pages and regularly contained an editorial about how to write, the value of writing, or about successful PNG writers. Repeated often was the enticement that the journal paid contributors at rates equal to those paid by similar Australian journals. This was the only such opportunity in PNG periodicals publishing for the "professional" writer. The contents of each issue over the journal's eight year history were fairly consistent: the contributions were by 6-7 authors each issue. One of the entries might be 2-3 poems by one poet (or, more often, 2-3 poems by different poets, generally Literature Competition prize winners).

The prose is difficult to categorize and would make a good study of the shift from orality to the written. With the later exception of "Poet's Corner," the contributions to *(P)NGW* were not differentiated in the Table of Contents as to genre.

Stories, legends, interviews, advice to authors: all appeared under title and author, alone. In the first two years of the magazine, about half of the prose was obviously re-tellings of folklore and the rest seemed to be based on folklore. As the years pass, it becomes difficult for the reader to determine where folklore breaks off and creative writing begins. In other words, more of the prose pieces resembled plotted short stories and some had contemporary content.[11] The journal never published drama, nor did it publish literary criticism. *(P)NGW* was a populist literary magazine and made no pretentions to be anything else.

What *(P)NGW* did best was to promote writing. Each issue contained lengthy biographies, with photos of each contributing writer. The biographies mentioned all the publishing and prize-winning successes of the writers. The Literature Competitions were continually promoted, along with the dollar amount of the prizes. Much of the material in *(P)NGW* was selected from among the entries to the annual literary contests. All entrants were required to "offer the Literature Bureau first publication rights only for prize-winning entries." But the Bureau did not seed its Table of Contents with this material; nor did it try to monopolize the prize-winners. Some issues of *(P)NGW* had no prize-winning entries at all. When the journal did publish prize-winning entries, they were most often poems. Several of the early prize-winners were UPNG students and their pieces were printed in *Kovave*, not in *NGW*. Finally, the Literature Bureau offered everything published in *(P)NGW* to ABC "who negotiate direct with the authors for permission to use their work." The editor of *PNGW* was proud of the fact that many stories had been selected for dramatization and "not all prize winners." In the absence of copyright legislation, the journal was trying to create as much spin-off as it could for each writer.

What is clear from the pages of *(P)NGW* is that, in its early days (i.e. until 1975), both the journal and the Bureau were effective in achieving their goals. Although Ulli Beier felt the Literature Bureau's journal was boring and its staff unproductive (Beier letter, 1992), the list of programmes and accomplishments of both suggests otherwise.[12] In effect, the Bureau was trying to operate like a temporary mini-literary system, drawing its product from the "writing stable" provided by the Literature Competitions.[13] Competition winners like Siuras Kavani, Aloysius Aita, Sally Anne Pipi, Siwid Gipey and Mary Paulisbo made regular contributions.

What is also clear is that *(P)NGW* writers were drawn from across the entire spectrum of the population: from all regions, levels of education and professions. Contrary to Ulli Beier's contention that the journal catered to high school students, a survey of the writers' biographies over the entire history of the journal indicates that about 25% of the contributors were UPNG students; about 43% had received other tertiary education in teachers colleges, at Unitech, the Administrative College, in Australian universities, etc.; and about 32% had high school or were public servants. What is more, this distribution remained quite constant over eight years. What is also important to note is that each issue of *(P)NGW* included writing by one or two women. Despite the low literacy rate among women, their low numbers at UPNG, and their absence from the pages of *Kovave*, a surprisingly high number of women contributed to the Literature Bureau's journal. Under Lahui's editorship, for instance, Sally Anne Pipi (Bagita) became assistant editor.

The Literature Competitions were the chief vehicle through which the Literature Bureau promoted writing in PNG. Originally the idea of Roger Boschman in 1968 and sponsored by him personally, the National Short Story Contest (and then the other competitions) quickly became the national focus for literary output. They were absorbed as part of the Literature Bureau's operations in 1970, but continued to have a high proportion of private funding. Long after editors Maynard and Boschman had left the Bureau, they continued to personally fund prizes, as did the CCA, the Port Moresby Arts Council, SIL, and many interested expats. The Competitions had three main divisions: short story, play, and poetry. Categories for Pidgin writing were added in 1972 at the request of and funded by SIL. Don Maynard also supported this category out of his own pocket. SIL provided the judges for the Pidgin story category. The Competitions had age-ranked categories from primary level to university/adult. They were, and are still, enormously popular. From the original 70 stories submitted for Roger Boschman's Short Story Contest, to 700 stories in 1971, the strength of the Competition is obvious throughout its history (Schild 81ff).[14]

Indeed, the whole notion of writing competitions was popular. The Port Moresby Eistedfodd had literary sections in 1970 (*NGW* 2 [1970]: 24) where the prize was money plus three weeks free tuition at CTC, Nobonob. The Drama and Arts Society sponsored the Waigani Writing Competition in 1969 (*Nilaidat* 2.3 [1969]: 15). *New Nation* sponsored annual literary competitions for its young readers, averaging 150 entrants (G. Powell 1984, 90). Kristen Pres operated a literature contest from 1970-73, from which they published three anthologies of prize-winning folklore entries: *Tales From Long Ago* (1972) and *Return From the Unknown* (1972), and *Creation Legends From New Guinea* (1972). Money prizes were offered by Kristen Pres contest for biography and short story, for essays and drama in English or Pidgin. In addition, winners received free tuition at the CTC writing courses run by Glen Bays. Although most submissions to the National Competitions were encouraged (or even required) of students by teachers, the Literature Competition winners' lists contain an impressive number of future published authors. From the 1970 contest alone, the prizes (Short story - Russell Soaba; Drama - Arthur Jawodimbari, Leo Hannet, John Waiko, John Kaniku; and Poetry - Kumalau Tawali, Jack Lahui) point to the literary "canon" for the next decade, as do all the prize-winning pieces published during *(P)NGW*'s history.[15] The perceived importance of *(P)NGW*'s participation in this process is indicated by letters written to the editor by teachers who used the magazine as indigenous material for their English classes.

Yet there were problems with the Competitions. The first of these was cultural, the second structural. Plagiarism was a continuing difficulty. Many contributors simply did not understand the concept of cultural property. The warnings are repeated often over the years. Sometimes it was plain cheek, as when one entrant submitted an early poem written by the editor himself, or when someone submitted a page of Shakespeare. Other times, greed and sloth combined to submit the cribbed dedicatory poem to Camara Laye's *The African Child*. The judges had to be vigilant. Plagiarism was a problem for *PNGW* as well, since the journal paid for submissions. In 1976, Greg Murphy of GTC acidly reminded the editor of his own plagiarism policy when the journal printed the poem "The Lonely Heart," by Gapi Iamo, originally published at GTC in *O Mama* (ed. G. Murphy), by the actual author Alois Ua (Murphy 8).

Time and again, judges had difficulty in their task or simply refused to award prizes because the manuscripts were not the right length, of a high enough quality, or because they resembled (or actually were) oral texts written down. Taban lo Liyong and Peter Trist were at pains to explain this difficulty to readers in 1977, although it was a continual problem. The policy of encouraging people to start with orality and then transfer into English and onto paper did not seem to be working. The concept of the westernized imaginative text was difficult to establish.

The other problem was just as difficult to deal with: in such a small literary community, it was hard to find enough non-involved judges. Paul Sharrad points out that the Literary

Competitions became an in-bred system where the teachers and editors judged the prize-winners, who themselves became judges in subsequent competitions (Sharrad 1). The judges for 1970, for instance, were Albert Maori Kiki, Paulias Matane, Ulli Beier, Don Maynard, Greg Katahanas (drama teacher at GTC), Peter Trist (drama editor for ABC, later NBC), and so on. Many prize-givers were also judges. What Sharrad calls "in-bred" seems to be one more manifestation of the self-sufficiency of the pioneer system. As no cultural structures were in place to support literature, the new system had to be completely self-sufficient. This meant that everyone needed to be able to serve several roles.

The exact value of the Literature Competitions is difficult to ascertain. They provided a venue for writers who were not part of the UPNG group. They provided a venue for those UPNG writers who were not part of the elite creative writing group. Whatever their ultimate place in PNG literary history, the Literature Competitions provided an early national indigenous writing exercise that was the direct continuation of mission attempts to maintain literacy both inside and outside of school.[16] When John Kolia of IPNGS, where the Literature Bureau had been housed in the late 1970s, published a collection of verse from the 1980 Competitions, Andrew Strathern commented that the anthology, *Melanesia - Thoughts and Words*, was a fresh, lively expression of the personal. The forms he encountered in this verse were unusual, some reminiscent of oral verse. The images had a Melanesian flavour to them. Ever so slowly, a truly indigenous use of language and form seemed to be emerging (Strathern 1982, 59). Clearly, by the early 1980s the original goals of the Literature Bureau had been vindicated even if most of the programme links established by Maynard and Boschman were lost.

B. The Tenure of Roger Boschman (1972-74)

In 1972 Don Maynard decided to publish John Kasaipwalova's controversial article "What is Cultural Reconstruction?" Kasaipwalova was one of the most anti-colonial of the university-based writers. His image could not be refined or polished for colonial tastes as Eri's had been. This was the last time Kasaipwalova published in *(P)NGW*, the end of Kumalau Tawali's apprenticeship as assistant editor under Don Maynard, and the end of Don Maynard's career at the Literature Bureau. He resigned after being called to task by the director of DIES (Schild 77ff). Maynard was replaced by Canadian film-maker, Roger Boschman, a man who already had credibility among the country's writers.

Under Boschman, the journal was re-named *Papua New Guinea Writing* and became a quarterly. Boschman's accession as editor coincided with the first revival of the flagging literary scene.[17] In fact, his enthusiasm is generally thought to be responsible for that revival. In the first twelve months of his tenure, Boschman doubled the sales of the journal. He introduced Writers Day at the end of September in 1972 to celebrate the annual prize-giving for the Literature Competitions and to honour PNG's writers.[18]

Boschman was happy in the particular circumstances of his editorship. The years 1972-1975 were hectic, euphoric, expansive years in PNG. The run-up to Independence occupied every administrative mind. In this atmosphere, the importance of the writer in creating a national consciousness was crucial. The Literature Bureau assumed an even greater part in the creation of the new nation-state than it had in the tentative years since 1968. Boschman was even happier in the new acting director of DIES, novelist Vincent Eri. But the later connections between *PNGW* and the Department of Education were already becoming clear. At the 1973 Writers Day speeches, the presenter for prizes was the Director of Education, Mr. Alkan Tololo, who was also chairman of the National Cultural Council. This Council had been formed from an Australian grant meant to serve PNG culture for five years. It became the umbrella government granting agency for the arts in much the same way as the Arts Council operated in other Commonwealth countries. Although the Literature Bureau was at times under the Culture portfolio, its links with the school system were even stronger.

But for the time being the Bureau was on solid ground: the new Government was anxious in those pre-Independence years to harness the power of literature in the service of nation-building and Boschman was quite prepared to assist. The magazine's editorials, with their tone of bluff good humour, consistently made much of the national role of the writer:

> Our writers in particular have a great responsibility in the job of nation-building. As safety and security depend

> heavily upon communication among people, our writers will be increasingly called upon to use their talent and ability. (Editorial 11 [1973])

That same editorial urges people to support national unity by applying to the National Unity Poetry and Poster Competitions sponsored by the National Day Committee. The omnipresence of the capitalized word "National" in those years is nowhere more evident than on the pages of the *PNGW*.

With the shift to Boschman's leadership, the journal headed down its final path to indigenization. For two years, Boschman trained Jack Lahui as assistant editor. The format was changed to include a centre page feature: either an interview by the staff with an important PNG writer, an essay by a writer on the literary scene, or coverage of literary events. A dialogue with writers and readers was opened up with the inception of a "Letters-to-the-Editor" section. Boschman also regularly asked questions of his readers in the editorials. In September 1973, he raised the question of language. The journal had always requested Pidgin contributions, but rarely managed to publish one per issue. In the wake of the first successful Pidgin categories in the 1972 Literature Competitions, Boschman wanted to know how readers felt about including more Pidgin stories along with English translations.

He was answered immediately in the next issue by Douglas Young, a Catholic (SVD) priest from Sari. In a strong letter which might have been written by Father Mihalic, Young agreed that *PNGW* should have a commitment to Pidgin literature and that English should be available, especially if there were wide circulation in Motu areas. Young was, moreover, very clear that the journal should use official orthography, so that the Literature Bureau might assist the language in generating its rightful linguistic place. The answers from islanders were slow in coming, but they were all convinced of the need for Pidgin, if not for translation.[19] Gipey, a Pidgin writer, took hot issue with Young over the standardization of Tok Pisin. In a "Hands-off Pidgin English" letter, Gipey told Young that Pidgin needed time to experiment and expand (as the English language had done) before anyone [Read - any expat] decided to box it up. Although the issue provoked lively interest among his readers, Boschman was unable to boost the Pidgin content of *PNGW* above one entry or so per issue.

C. The Tenure of Jack Lahui (1974-1977)

The indigenization of *PNGW* was more or less complete with Boschman's departure, although the new director/editor continued with an expat editorial consultant throughout his tenure. Jack Lahui, a long-time DIES employee and winner of several National Poetry prizes, presided over the demise of the journal and of the Literature Bureau.

Given the treacherous political waters Lahui was asked to negotiate, he might be forgiven the occasional cross day. He proved a feisty, if ineffectual proponent of the Bureau. In the first place, his editorial policy was harsh enough for authors to complain openly. The journal, because of its populist thrust, kept its language requirements low enough for writers whose national language was not English to feel comfortable -- about entry level for high school. Yet the magazine's editorial practices were stringent. Authors were required to agree to publication without ever receiving a final edited copy. Of the drastic changes to his manuscripts, Benjamin Umba wrote:

> I feel that when one of my works is published it is no longer mine but the editors [sic] personal work. Sometimes, half of what was originally sent in does not appear in the magazine. (19 [1975]: 21)

Umba was so disgruntled he stopped sending manuscripts. Lahui's reply to Umba was testy. It used words like "allegation," and "where a writer fails." Australian critic Nigel Krauth, whose article, "A Post Mortem of Papua New Guinean Poetry" appeared in 25 (1977), complained of similar practices. His title had been changed to indicate something he did not have in mind at all. Several lines of text and parts of quotations were missing. There were many typographical errors. Lahui apologized to Krauth.

The most famous outcry against the draconian editorial practices of the journal's last editor came from Greg Murphy, English instructor at GTC. In his Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS) Discussion Paper, 18 (1976) titled "On How Not to Edit Poetry," Murphy spelled out the radical changes made by *PNGW* in the publication of prize-winning poems. In comparing Lahui's editorial work to the plagiarism of Gapi Iamo, Murphy said, "stealing something, especially a work of art, is not as bad as destroying it" (8). Needless to say, all but the newest writers in the country knew of these practices and avoided the journal if they could.

Lahui's tribulations as editor of *PNGW* paled in comparison to the problems he faced as director of the Literature Bureau. From the beginning, it was obvious that Lahui was struggling to cement the Literature Bureau's role and funding base. Following the recent changes in Australian Cultural policy, when the Australian Arts Council was established in 1973 and the Commonwealth Literature Fund became the Literature Board (Andrews 1982), Lahui's 16 (1974) Editorial queried whether it was not now time to establish a Literature Board in PNG as well. Such a board, made up of the "nation's foremost writers," and "given teeth in the form of grants from government and the private sector," would serve as the driving force to help writers publish. Although the NCC had a general interest in cultural activities (especially film), Lahui felt it was time to focus on the aesthetic instead of the broadly cultural.[20] He took care to point out that the Literature Bureau already had structures in place to begin the process but that the initiative remained largely in the hands of private individuals, not the state. The Government's response was to close the Bureau in 1975 for lack of funds. Independence had been achieved. Literature had not established its value outside of nation-building.

The closure was brief, but indicative of the low priority given cultural matters in the new Government. The Literature Bureau had been caught in a departmental shuffle. It had barely escaped becoming a satellite of the Department of Education, been bounced back and forth between the Department of Information and the Recreation Division of the Department of Education. In the end, the Literature Bureau had remained temporarily within Information. Lahui's 21/22 (1976) editorial documented the hair-raising events of this governmental ambivalence toward the Bureau. Up until his publishing deadline, he had had no communication with the Cultural Affairs Department and could only hope that the Bureau's efforts in establishing a national literary and cultural magazine would be appreciated in the right quarters. Lahui's worst fear was that the magazine would be made into a purely "Government instrument promoting its image abroad." In this and previous editorials, Lahui desperately listed the Literature Bureau's performance record. But most of all, he pleaded for Don Maynard's original plan of establishing the Bureau as a major publishing house for the new nation:

> I know there are a number of publishers that would most willingly enter into joint publishing ventures with the Bureau. Organized like an institutional publishing house, the Bureau could serve the writers and potential authors better. (21/22 [1976]:2)

No one stepped forward. By the end of 1976, the Literature Bureau had been re-housed within the Department of Education.[21]

The editor of *PNGW* was now required to sing a wholly educational tune: "It is our hope that the Bureau play an indirect 'Adult or Community Education Role' and supplement the Education department's national curriculum if required." The journal had been seconded to the Department's low priority literacy programme. The tone of editorials became one of despair. Subscription rates were lowered. In 28 (1977), Lahui announced that the journal would be more responsive to community needs by instituting a Literature Bureau Advisory Committee. *PNGW* began a section for children's literature; in issue 28, half the magazine was devoted to children's stories. The Bureau even initiated an "Adopt-a-School" plan which was really a sort of competition. A school had to prove that it had subscribed to the journal *and* that 3 pupils had contributed to the children's pages *and* that teachers had used the journal in class. Then the Literature Bureau was prepared to donate two more years subscription, K10 of children's books to the school library and call the winning school "The Literature Bureau Community School of the Year." It is not entirely clear in this competition who was adopting whom.

While under the Department of Education, Lahui was faced with the spectre of redundancy. *PNGW* was in direct competition with existing departmental publications for primary schools like *Garamut*. What is more, *PNGW* was a literary magazine, deposited in an education department which had no literature syllabus. When Lahui was invited to the Iowa Writers Course and then decided to return to university, the magazine was lodged with John Kolia at IPNGS in 1978, where it lasted for another two issues and then sputtered to a halt, absorbed into Institute publications like so many others at the time. The Literature Bureau (later called the Literature Board) remained with the IPNGS until 1988 when a re-structuring of several institutions (including IPNGS) created the National Research

Institute (NRI). Jack Lahui is currently Director of the Literature and Publications Unit of its Cultural Studies Division.

John Kolia's personal account of this period in the establishment of functional links is instructive. It is indicative of the new Government's disinterest in literature.[22] It is also indicative of the continuing centrality of education even after Independence. There were indeed, as Kolia claims, a disproportionately high number of decolonizing agents still involved in PNG education, mostly in administrative and research positions. In an IPNGS Discussion Paper Kolia writes that the:

> Education Department is the most notoriously inefficient in the ministry. It also happens to be the one with the most white advisors in senior positions....it comes as a ludicrous joke to hear that the Department has been trying its best to take-over the nation's cultural institutions. These statutory bodies come under the umbrella of another statutory body, the National Cultural Council and together and separately they were responsible to the Prime Minister. Because of the existence of a Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, however, the cultural institutions have been placed under the Culture portfolio of the Minister of Education, Culture and Science, but are not thereby under the Secretary of Education. The Directors of the Institutions are not surprisingly worried lest their work be hampered by the bumbling Education Department bureaucracy....There should obviously be great co-operation between the Cultural bodies and the Educational Department. But then there should also be great co-operation between those bodies and that department and between that expensive low-producer, the Office of Information. But it does not follow that one need be under the other, the idea that the grossly inefficient Education Department should take on more responsibility rather than less, being one of the more

> disastrous ideas put forward by those responsible for our present and elitist educational scandal. (Kolia 1979, 5,6,7)[23]

Although Kolia wrote for other reasons, he confirmed here the pattern already noted several times above: culture viewed as a vehicle for nation-building, using literature as a tool for that process; the process itself tightly controlled by a governmental agency dominated by change agents. In the case of the PNG Literature Bureau, the closest the institution got to providing the complete system of the East Africa Literature Bureau, or of *wantok*, was during Roger Boschman's tenure when the magazine was most valuable to the Government.

The Literature Bureau was crippled from the beginning with its limited funding and its limited scope. It operated as a service agency between the two burgeoning literary systems, but its links with them were incomplete. A study of the contributors to *Kovave* and *(P)NGW* shows that there was almost no crossover between them in their contributor base. Of the early major writers, there are only Kumalau Tawali (until the ousting of Don Maynard), Arthur Jawodimbari regularly, Vincent Eri on occasion, and John Kadiba at the beginning. The other crossover was Russell Soaba, who also joined the editorial staff of *PNGW* for a short time. Of the minor writers, Allain Jaria, Aloysius Aita, Siuras Kavani. Nor did the editors or editorial committees cross over, again with the exception of the lone wolf, Russell Soaba. In other words, the elite writing stable of the Beier school looked elsewhere for publication.

The Literature Bureau was rather more successful with the mission system, as the institutional involvement of SIL in the Literary Competitions and the relationship with mission-sponsored writers courses indicates. Mission workers saw in *PNGW* a possible outlet for vernacular and Pidgin writing and encouraged public school students as well as teachers college and seminary trainees to contribute. What the Literature Bureau could not manage was to provide a publishing house for secular reading material, which was what the missions had hoped for and could not yet provide for themselves.

The Literature Bureau, once absorbed into IPNGS, was now part of a larger and more loosely structured effort at preserving island cultures. Ironically, the major impulse behind the cultural institute in which the Literature Bureau now found itself was Ulli Beier, the Bureau's nemesis in the 1970s. As for the creative side of the original Bureau -- the teaching, the professional activities, the publications -- these had been absorbed into the CCA (also the brainchild of Ulli Beier) when it was formed in 1971.

III. THE CREATIVE CENTRE FOR THE ARTS (CCA)

Although originally organized by Ulli Beier to support the work of his wife Georgina with New Guinea artists and her training of textile designers and painters, the Creative Arts Centre was soon officially taken from Beier control. Beier writes that UPNG built a "salo" matting shed in his garden in 1968, calling it the Centre for New Guinea Cultures. Beyond this shed, financing for the venture came from Beier's salary. In 1971, the government built the Centre for Creative Arts (CCA) in coordination with UPNG. There was a large workshop for students, and a house for the director, who was intended to be Beier. However, Beier had been offered the job as Director of African Studies at Ife and chose to leave. In the end, Beier felt that CCA became a conventional arts school with no impact on literature.[24] But for a half dozen years in the 1970s, the CCA seemed to fill the publishing function that the Literature Bureau had failed to, as well as the publishing void created by Beier's absence. It even looked as though CCA might re-establish the public teaching of creative writing that had languished when Don Maynard left the Bureau.

The CCA was meant as a "people's" art centre. It provided living quarters and work space as well as materials, equipment and instruction on a 20-acre site near the University. Those working at the Centre had to demonstrate artistic, not academic, ability. Four types of artist worked there. Members were full-time professional artists who might or might not live at the Centre. They might sell their work independently or through the Centre. Associate members worked full-time at the Centre. Fellows were instructors invited by the Centre's Governing Council. Student Members were eligible to receive working space at the Centre. By 1972, the house and studio workshop of Beier's day were complemented by three more studio-workshops and a duplex. There were plans to construct a 400-seat theatre on the site ("Centre for Creative Arts" 20).

In his opening address to the 1972 conference on "Teaching Literature in Papua New Guinea," Dr. Ken Inglis described the goals of the Centre as expressing "continuity between literature and visual arts and also the connections between the work of the Education Department and the work of the University" (Inglis in Brash and Greicus 3). That same year, Vincent Eri was interviewed by Jack Lahui of *PNGW* regarding these educational links. Lahui tried to pry out of Eri exactly how the CCA would serve the writers not based at the university, and how it would promote creative writing in the schools. Eri was evasive: maybe this training could be achieved through correspondence courses. The best he could offer was that John Kaniku, then in charge of Literature and Drama at CCA, was to encourage public school students to appreciate, write, and act in plays (Eri 13).

Although the CCA established the first professional training for dramatists in PNG, its teaching remained limited to the Centre itself. At most it contributed to training through financing joint ventures like the Olaf Ruhen writing course in 1973 (Boschman 1973b, 12). But publishing was another story. From the outset, the connection to the university was strong. In 1971, the then New Guinea Cultural Centre had co-published *Kovave* with Jacaranda Press (Maynard 1971b, 19). In 1972, Kaniku initiated a poster poem series, "Poetry for the People," with John Kasaipwalova and Apisai Enos as editors. The first of these was the popular poem, "O Meri *wantok*," by Dus Mapun; the second, "Moa! Moa! Yet!" by Jerry Kavop; the third, "Friday Apinum," by Jack Kess Emil. These poems and authors reflected the participation of the Beier creative writing students in CCA.

The staff of the Literature Department was just as involved as were the students. In 1973, editors Mike Greicus and Elton Brash published *Niugini Stories*, a collection of written and legendary material partly culled from UPNG's literary magazine *Kovave*, partly from the Literature Bureau's *PNGW*, and partly from writers working at the Centre itself. In fact, most of the CCA publications were edited by someone from the Literature Department. Often the editor was Mike Greicus who was interested in the possibilities for mass distribution that the CCA offered. Many of the Centre's publications, like Johnbili Tokome's play *Oli Kam na Paulim Yumi* [They Came to Confuse Us], were in Pidgin or Motu. Greicus, who taught film classes at the Literature Department, was also interested in the unique opportunity for printed publication offered by the presence of the original drawings of artists like John Danger and Jimmy John.

CCA tried to widen the audience for plays by publishing a series of plays, the second of which was Peter Kama Kerpie's *Voices from the Ridge* (1973). But it focussed just as strongly on collections of folklore. In 1974, Nigel Oram collected 21 oral narratives in Motu under the title *Gori Bona Sene Sivaraidia*. That same year the Centre published *Toibita*, a translation of a myth. As late as 1978, Russell Soaba and Apisai Enos had begun to edit the PNG folklore series, *How*. This was a joint venture between IPNGS and CCA, now the National Arts School (NAS). This collection represented much of the gathering activities of Beier's creative writing students, but the Table of Contents revealed where the emphasis now lay: the titles of the myths were privileged, not the names of their European Papua New Guinean collectors.

As an official governmental body the CCA, like the Literature Bureau served as a meeting place for all. The Literature Bureau contributed pieces to CCA anthologies and the CCA funded prizes in the National Literature Competitions, especially prizes for the Pidgin plays. Part of this "national" character of the CCA devolved from the convictions of its first director, Tom Craig, former head of the Arts Department at Goroka Teachers College (GTC).[25] Mostly it grew out of its beginnings as a "non-verbal" institution. The CCA was a place to *do* art, not to theorize or debate it. Consequently, the atmosphere at CCA was less clouded by politics than it was at the university campus.

This middle road was even further reinforced after 1973, when a $5,000,000 (Aus.) grant was given the PNG government to assist in a Cultural Development Programme. The money was meant to fund three major cultural institutions in an effort to preserve and develop PNG culture: the National Museum, a National Arts School, and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. The National Arts School was responsible, among other things, for publishing "works of literature, drama and art for the establishment of a system under which grants of fellowships can be offered in the fields of literature, music, drama and film production" (*NCC: Its Aims* 1977, 39). The Australian money was distributed under the newly-formed NCC and the CCA was subsequently re-named the NAS.

CCA not only published plays, it trained actors, directors, and playwrights. John Kaniku the first head of Dance and Drama at CCA had come to Port Moresby from GTC, where he had been at the centre of the student drama productions as a playwright and actor. He quickly discovered that the university and the teachers colleges were only interested in producing their own plays.[28] So in 1970 he organized Theatre New Guinea, the first national theatre group in New Guinea, using students from Badihagwa High School.

A. Drama and John Kaniku

Theatre New Guinea was a pioneering venture in many ways. And John Kaniku himself was the first islander ever to organize a theatre company. He began as a promoter. From December 1-4, 1970, the company performed his own "Cry of the Cassowary," and one other New Guinean play, using the Arts Council Theatre in Port Moresby. He then took the plays on a tour of PNG high schools and was well received. Theatre New Guinea's first season, under Kaniku, was an ambitious one. The company performed five plays at the Port Moresby theatre. The first was his own *Kalawi Kwasina*; then Arthur Miller's *The Price*; Richardson and Burney's *Dark of the Moon*; Gogol's *The Government Inspector*; and finally, Kaniku's *Gwadu Street*. After leaving to study theatre in Australia in 1971, Kaniku returned to form the Port Moresby Theatre Company. This company consisted of eight actors and actresses, university students who worked without pay. Kaniku was director; Arthur Jawodimabari, the associate director. The Company was financed by the CCA, which provided the money to convert a building at the Port Moresby Teachers College for Kaniku's productions.

Kaniku's vision for his new company was national and comprehensive. He wanted to divide it into three groups. The first of these would be professional and would take theatre to the people by means of boat, truck and plane. The second would consist of a group of ten actors who would tour Australia each year for eight weeks, performing a variety of dance and drama, giving three performances each day to finance the tour. The third group, a youth theatre, would bring drama to the high schools. In 1972, he had already begun several programmes. The first of these was allowing new playwrights to workshop their plays at the Centre using professional actors. The Company was also collecting dances from around PNG in order to compose a national dance. This second thrust of the Port Moresby Theatre Company was intended to ground PNG drama in music. In addition, the Company was busy taping stories and legends and encouraging young writers to turn their folklore into drama. Finally, Kaniku had formed the Port Moresby Traditional Dancing Society which invited various groups to perform in Moresby three times each year.

Kaniku realized that such ambitious programmes required adequate funding for at least ten years. It also required professional, trained actors and an educated audience. Above all, what he wanted to create was a theatre unique to Papua New Guinea. His experience in Australia had shown him that colonies could not develop a truly national theatre if they imitated the style and content of American, or European theatre. The formation of the NCC in 1973 to distribute moneys for cultural grants seemed to be the answer to Kaniku's dreams. He was already head of CCA's Dance and Drama School. But an argument over policy and priority led him to resign in 1973; all the dancers and actors went with him. Kaniku left for the United States to study drama there.

The NCC had a strong mandate to form a travelling theatre company. Under its new directors, Arthur Jawodimbari and Oliver Sublette, the Dance and Drama students began that work. In 1974, the first drama and music/drama students began training. So shy were the students about appearing in public that the programme was designed first to teach them to move freely on the stage; then they were exposed to mime, improvization, music and stagecraft. The teachers at the Centre were all expats, many of them American, and seconded from UPNG and GTC. During the first year, the students performed four plays: a mime dance drama based on a poem by Arthur Jawodimbari, a comedy, a musical (which was partly scripted and partly improvized), and *Wilma Wait*, by Russell Soaba. The Company took the plays to the high schools and villages and then to the fourth PNG Arts Festival. In all, they performed 71 times in 1974. By 1975, Jawodimbari had 17 students, and by 1977 there were 24 students taught by six staff members.

B. The National Theatre Company (NTC)

The Dance and Drama programme of CCA, now NAS, was so successful that in 1977 the NCC made it autonomous, as the National Theatre Company (NTC). Arthur Jawodimbari, who was by that time head of the Centre, was the NTC's director. The NTC's programme reflected Kaniku's earlier dream for drama in PNG. It was to establish "a touring drama group to bring live performance of locally written drama to the people of Papua New Guinea"; promote "the writing and production of locally written plays in English and Pidgin"; to "invite village elders from all over Papua New Guinea to come and live with the Company and teach their dances and songs, instruct the Company in playing traditional instruments and help to make costumes and body decorations for the dances"; to re-direct folklore as stage plays in order to maintain the tradition of the past; to reflect the national character of the people of PNG; to stimulate the writing of stories and books; to foster local dance troupes (NCC 1977, 41).

Despite the fact the NTC was at the whim of politicians, Russell Soaba felt in 1979 that it was "more artistically productive than any other institution in this country" (Tiffin interview 1979, 17). The financial stability that was part of being a governmental agency had given Arthur Jawodimbari the room to create truly indigenous theatre. That year he was planning to establish a full-time writer-in-residence position for the Company.

NTC was able to fulfill its mandate in many other areas, chief among them the establishment of direct links with indigenous culture. By the mid-1980s it had developed a vigorous outreach programme with local branches of NTC in several provinces. The aim was to decentralize the Theatre like all other Government agencies as a means of holding the country together.[27] Jawodimbari's outreach programme used NTC as popular theatre, a tool for self-help among villagers (Takaku passim). In 1986, with William Takaku as director, NTC completed the decentralization process by splitting the Company into theatres located in Oro, Central, and North Solomons Province. After a five year period, the goal was to have 19 provincial theatres and *no* national theatre. Ideally the provincial theatres were to be run by the local governments so that they could freely represent local cultures, preserve traditions, educate villagers, and so on. One of the primary aims was to enlist as many young people as possible as a means of keeping them away from urban areas and re-connecting them to their own cultures. This plan, while some of its goals were legitimate and laudable, would have ripped the heart out of NTC. Takaku hoped that at least a national co-ordinating board could be maintained.

It was a depressing prospect to see a 15-year-old national institution dismantled. But a similar fate was to befall many cultural institutions throughout the 1980s, as culture ceased to serve the immediate needs of the national government (Matbob July 18, 1986, 27). When the Australian grant ran out in 1978, the PNG government could not fund the arts to the same extent. Beginning in 1980 the Chan and Okuk governments began cuts to the NCC. The effect on the NAS was severe. The music and visual arts courses were scrapped. The situation deteriorated to the point where the School had no money to begin the 1987 year (Matbob Dec. 26, 1986, 15).

In 1990, the NAS was absorbed by UPNG as the Faculty of Creative Arts (*University This Week* 26 Oct. 1990). Was Ulli Beier right? Did the CCA have no lasting effect on literature after all? With the possible exception of the Literature Competitions, none of the structures discussed in this or the next chapter could be construed as having a *lasting* effect on literature. Most of these institutions were meant as temporary, or had an overwhelmingly contemporary purpose. The CCA contributed to literature in much the same way the Literature Bureau had done, to provide general encouragement for the arts.

But CCA was, like all decolonizing structures, riddled with ambivalence. On the one hand it opened a door to self-expression and to cultural pride. On the other it directed that energy toward political and economic goals. In 1973, Ken McKinnon, outgoing Director of Education, saw PNG's cultural development as hingeing on the NCC's flagship institutions -- the Museum, IPNGS, and CCA. John Haugie of McKinnon's office felt that cultural centres could be set up in all the regional centres from which the CCA could draw to form up a national dance troupe...for the tourist industry. He enthusiastically outlined this plan:

> These cultural centres will be of great value for this country. Tourists will be fully entertained while in the country. The tourist agents and hotel operators will organize a full programme of activities with the cultural centres. The people are performing for different audiences all the time. The people are now performing for a purpose. (Haugie 38)

For some administrators it was probably natural to make this connection, since Culture was usually included within the Tourism portfolio. But the Administration's commitment to culture left many islanders cynical. Too often such policies served nationalistic and racist propaganda. A good example of their wary attitude toward this artificial reconstruction of the past is John Kasaipwalova's acerbic article, "What is Cultural Reconstruction?":

> I wish to pose a question -- how many of you, when passing the Konedobu 'Cultural Centre', feel its 'cultural vitality' and can identify in pride with the painted shacks there? Yet here is an example of an official attempt to reconstruct for the 'museum culture' some forms of Niuginian architecture and painting. I certainly find it boring and extremely insulting to see those grass houses fenced and erected in confusion and cynicism. If we must opt for 'cultural reconstruction', we must necessarily establish custodians of 'culture', and so remove 'culture' from the way of life of the people. The concept of 'cultural reconstruction' *at best*, could be described as patching up the outside shell when the inside substance has been drained to a vacuum. (1971, 16)

This was the essay which, when published in *PNGW*, occasioned editor Don Maynard's resignation from the Literature Bureau. For the Administration, nationalism and cultural reconstruction were sacred planks in the decolonization platform. Indigenous criticism of these two ideals was not part of the programme.

Burdened as it was with political hopes and intellectual distrust, the CCA did provide one literary function which still appeals to writers after two decades. The Centre had developed as the only institution in PNG that made possible the European notion of the professional artist. For a short time, it seemed as though it might actually be possible to make a living from art. This was the lesson taught by the visual artists at the Centre and certainly by the actors of the National Theatre Company.

IV. THE MISSION SYSTEM: GLEN BAYS AND KRISTEN PRES

To some extent it is spurious to centre the mission system on Glen Bays. As the mission system erected its institutional structures and established internal and external links it diffused its literary activities throughout the many participating agencies. Writing courses existed before Bays arrived and after he left. Some missions had nothing whatever to do with him or the centre at Nobonob. However, when the archival material is assembled and the participants consulted, it is Bays' name and that of the Creative Training Centre (CTC) which are always cited as the beginning of mission attempts to organize literary life.

The Christian Training Centre was established at Nobonob near Madang in 1970 on the site of what had been a Lutheran school. Bays was its director from 1970-1973. The Centre represented an attempt on the part of several missionaries from different agencies to co-ordinate their efforts to train writers.[28] In the late 1960s they formed a committee consisting of Roy Gwyther-Jones of SIL, John Sievert (Literature Development Director of Kristen Pres and frequent contributor to *READ*), Richard Adler (Executive Director of Kristen Pres) and others. They held workshops, mostly for other expat missionaries who produced literacy materials. A sample product of these workshops was *Stories of New Guinea,* produced from the writers' workshop at Lae in 1966 and published by the Board of Publication of the Lutheran Press at Madang. It contained 20 pieces of writing: 5 adventure stories, 4 stories of "the emerging culture," 3 inspirational texts, 3 historical and traditional, 2 dramatic Bible stories, 2 miscellaneous and 1 botanical. Of the 17 contributors, 14 were missionaries. The 3 native authors had stories in the historical/traditional category and in emerging culture.

One of the greatest difficulties for these trainers was time. None of them could devote enough of it to the task. John Sievert, for instance, tried to offer the first basic writing course in Pidgin at Nobonob, for nine days in June of 1970. The course was plagued with frustrations. Initially Sievert had wished the course to run for 15 days, but had experienced difficulty finding enough people to start on time.

Sievert had tried to follow the group-writing model developed by the African Christian Press. He quickly discovered that the time for the course was too short. The students were unable to finish the work in the allotted period, so he was left with the task of compiling and editing everything. Authors hadn't enough time to make their work specific. "Another writing hazard that was not overcome was the tendency to preach rather than to communicate in a way more likely to influence your reader. This common writing fault is found especially in religious writing" (1976, 21). Finally, Sievert found that the short time could not overcome the major problem broached by writing *useful* books in Pidgin -- that is, finding adequate research materials. He noted with relief that Glen Bays would arrive at the Centre in September as its full-time trainer (1976, 21).

CTC was an ecumenical operation. Prior to Independence, churches in PNG had united in a number of such joint ventures. In this case, representatives of SIL, Kristen Pres (predominantly Lutheran), the Evangelical Alliance and the United Church had contacted the Agency for Christian Literature and Development of the World Council of Churches requesting a survey into the possibility of establishing a fully-developed programme for writers. The Agency sent Dr. Charles Richards, who had started the East Africa Literature Bureau, and Doris Hess of the Methodist Mission Board. Their report recommended the establishment of the Training Centre on a full-time basis, using Kristen Pres as its publishing outlet. Funding was to be supplied by the Christian Literature Fund of the World Council.

The Agency contacted Bays in Africa where he was Director of the African Literature Centre at Kitwe in Zambia on the grounds of the Mendolo Ecumenical Foundation. Kitwe was a well-established training centre for both anglophone and francophone Africans. It was not restricted to Christians. Anyone could participate. The programmes were ambitious, providing a six-month residential course in journalism. Most of the trainees had been sent by their churches with the idea that they would return to establish a publishing programme. Students attended daily lectures, gathered news items and published newssheets. When the course was complete they would return to their villages to produce newsletters for pastors, writing for new literates, catechetical material, and so on. A central feature of Kitwe was the art programme. Illustrations were an important part of the publications.

A. Glen Bays and the Creative Training Centre

At first, Bays tried to apply his African training model to PNG. But the 4-6 months length did not suit PNG students. In Bays' opinion, family and social structures had been so disrupted in Africa that Africans were able to stay away from home for the longer courses. What is more, they knew they needed the kind of training Kitwe provided, as a means of re-building the damaged communications structures among their people. Therefore, the longer courses worked in Africa.

In PNG, on the other hand, the disruption to indigenous life by colonialism was less intense and of shorter duration. Bays' writing students did not want to be away from home more than three weeks and could not see the point to intensive training. His students were mostly teacher trainees, high school students, and employees of mission presses. He began instruction in English, but soon realizing the necessity for instruction in Pidgin, learned the language, and used it afterwards.

Bays tried to apply the format he had devised in Africa, beginning with the principles of good writing, then moving on to factual and creative writing. He drew heavily on E.B. White and William Strunk Jr.'s *The Elements of Style*. He was inspired by *Teacher*, by Sylvia Ashton-Warner of New Zealand and followed her text closely. He kept at his elbow David Holbrook's *English* *for the Rejected* (Bays Letter, May 1993). In order to teach patterns of organization, he would present information in a jumbled order and then instruct students to write and re-write until it all made sense. He would give students articles from magazines and newspapers and have them analyze the material for coherence and style. Research for factual writing was managed through field trips to local businesses and institutions. When students returned, themes and approaches would be discussed and then they would write their stories after class. Every second day they were required to submit a manuscript of 500-1,000 words (Schild 84 ff; Bays interview 1993).

The literary models for creative writing used in Glen Bays' writing courses were chosen for their style and content. Besides Biblical writing, much of the modeled material was folkloric. Bays used *Russian Stories and Legends* by Leo Tolstoy (NY: Pantheon, 1967) in order to demonstrate the use of flashback, dialogue, representation of theme and rich characterization. Bays liked Tolstoy's simple style. Bays used *The Illustrated Treasury of Children's Literature* (London: Collins, 1960), a collection of nursery rhymes, fables, fairytales, verse and extracts from longer European stories for children. As a stimulus for new writers, he used examples from as much world oral literature as he could find: for example, *Scottish Folk-Tales and Legends*, re-told by Barbara Ker Wilson (Oxford UP); *Aboriginal Fables* by A.W. Reed (Sydney: A.H. and A.W. Reed).

Many of the models Bays used were from other "Third World" or "developing" literatures. Having been in Africa since 1962, Bays was able to draw on the writings of Kenneth

Kaunda (*Zambia Shall Be Free* and *A Humanist in Africa*), as well as several Nigerian authors. He used colonial texts by expats about PNG, because they were simply told and colourful: *Beyond the Kubea* by Jack Hides (Sydney: Angus and Reed, 1939) and *Fear Drive My Feet* by Peter Ryan (Melbourne UP, 1959). And he also used the PNG texts that were available to him in 1970, namely *Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*, by Albert Maori Kiki (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968) and *The Crocodile*, by Vincent Eri (Milton, Qud.: Jacaranda Press, 1970) (Bays letter, May 1993).

In the end, Bays discovered that students would develop their own Papua New Guinean style of writing which he described as "rambling, folksy," and "feelings mixed with facts." Instead of imposing his African-based model on them he decided to let them be themselves, to let them do their best, but most of all to encourage them to keep writing. Bays felt that what islanders needed most was encouragement, to feel good about who they were and what they were doing.

Bays' courses were very popular. The first course attracted only six people, but soon requests were coming in regularly. In the first year and a half, he taught over 120 people. Many of those students have since gone into careers in national journalism, in radio, in government, as well as with church organizations. He is particularly proud of the fact that many women attended the courses. The churches apparently were more willing to send women because they were more competitive. After the course ended they would return to write at home or for their churches, or they would carry on to the same careers as the men. What students mostly wrote for him at the workshops were legends and folktales. This tendency demonstrated the same generic bias found in the pages of *(P)NGW* and in the entries to the Literature Competitions run by the Literature Bureau.[29]

B. Systems Crossover

Bays worked closely with Don Maynard of the Literature Bureau, who became a regular instructor for him. Maynard introduced the students to Kumalau Tawali and to poet Apisai Enos, who taught at one course. These were two of the crossover writers who, along with Bernard Narokobi, Siuras Kavani, John Kadiba, Allain Jaria, and John Waiko, were able to operate in the mission system as well as the university system. Maynard was responsible for a number of such crossover links. In mid-1973 Maynard, the Education Department of the University, and the CCA organized a Port Moresby writing course funded by the Australian Council for the Arts. They invited Australian writer Olaf Ruhen to teach creative writing to 14 participants. Eleven received the certificate. Ruhen's relaxed manner suited the students. *PNGW* made much of his visit. In a report on the outcome, Roger Boschman made sure that his readers understood that this was a creative writing course with a difference:

> Students with whom I spoke during the course were enthusiastic, particularly with Mr. Ruhen's approach to instruction in creative writing. They said he made no attempt to mould their attitudes but left them entirely free

> to pursue their individual approaches to fictional situations. (1973, 12)

In other words, Olaf Ruhen was no Ulli Beier. Eight of the eleven certificate holders regularly appeared on the pages of *PNGW*: John Kaniku, Joe Saruva, Allain Jaria, Peter Kama Kerpie, Allan Natachee, Jack Lahui, Alois Jerewai, Benjamin Umba. Whether or not the Ruhen visit was meant to counterbalance the effects of African literary visitors to the university, it is clear that Beier's writers were not present.

Besides encouraging the crossover through the Literature Bureau, Maynard used *NGW* to minimize the prestige differences between the systems. He gave equal coverage to university and mission system activities, often balancing his comments on literary events neatly between the two. For instance, in *NGW* 2 (1970) in a short article titled, "Courses for Writers," two paragraphs sit parallel to each other underneath a photo of Arthur Jawodimbari receiving a Literature Competition prize. The left-hand paragraph contains information about the Literature Bureau courses at Wewak, but emphasizes its Beier/UPNG connection. The right-hand paragraph describes the first two courses offered by Glen Bays at CTC. The subliminal (and not-so-subliminal) message of the page is one of equal systems linked through the agency of the Literature Bureau. The paragraphs were themselves linked in sequence: the Beier/Literature Bureau connection came first, followed by a paragraph which began: "Another vital nursery of writers in New Guinea is the Creative Training Centre at Nobonob, near Madang. Although mission-controlled it offers short-term intensive courses in writing for publication for aspiring writers from the Administration, the ABC, and the teachers colleges, as well as the Mission presses" (1971, 19). After mentioning the credentials of Glen Bays as Director of CTC, the paragraph ends with "The Literature Bureau assists the Nobonob centre with lectures and materials." After Bays left in 1972, and Maynard resigned, the pages of *PNGW* barely mention the mission system again. The CTC had shut down and writing was dispersed among various individual church programmes. The Literature Bureau could not afford the public training courses any more. Ulli Beier had also left and many of his more militant writers had gone as well. The Literature Bureau had now to serve the role of both mediating agency and spokesperson for non-university writers.

C. The Bays' Teaching Model

Glen Bays' legacy as a teacher and as an editor is firmly established in many programmes of the mission system: the form and content of mission writing courses, the writing programme of the United Church, the audio projects of the Christian Communications Commission, the activities of CWAMEL, and in the range and quality of the journals he established or helped to shape.

The PNG model eventually developed for Bays' writing courses was adopted by SIL workers, whose author-clientele had much lower proficiency as literates than Bays' students. Accordingly they complemented his work with teachers by offering a series of 2-week long annual National Writers Courses at Ukarumpa. The first of these was held in September of 1972. The participants were men who were language informants for trainers. "The only conditions for entry were oral fluency in Melanesian Pidgin and the ability to read and write in a vernacular language" (Gwyther-Jones 1973, 12). Bays' method of using field trips to provide subject matter for creative stories was used in these courses, as well as the discussions and rewrites. Style was never a concern in these workshops. Gwyther-Jones felt a vernacular style would develop naturally and could not be taught by a foreigner. The students were simply to write as they would speak.

When Ulla Schild interviewed an ex-student of Glen Bays', she found the themes of the stories written in his classes tended to be those of culture-clash and generation gap (84). Her discovery matched Kirsty Powell's observation that the Pidgin plays produced outside UPNG, especially those that arose from the drama workshops at GTC, dealt with culture-clash, not with anti-colonialism. R.L. Johnston, in his reflections on the 1974 Ukarumpa National Writers Course, commented that SIL viewed these courses as pro-active instead of reactive. They encouraged students to write about

> social problems and issues...because we believe that there is great value in generating social comment from the village level, so that people learn to see themselves as part of the solution, rather than mere passive onlookers. (1974, 79)

SIL workers understood that their new authors were returning to non-literate villages, so they built structures in the villages (newsletters, local libraries, SIL classes and continual village-level encouragement by expat missionaries) to support those authors. These are structures that still remain and which have no parallel in the university-based system.

After Glen Bays left in 1973 and the CTC had ceased operations, SIL (and other organizations) were prepared to continue teaching creative writing at more advanced levels (R.L. Johnston 80; Rickert 1-8). Other mission agencies followed suit. The United Church hired Philippina, Josie Runes, as its Director of Literature at the Malmaluan Christian Education Centre at Rabaul. The mission agencies were very aware that the university-based system would not produce a national literature that would serve most islanders. And they were aware that they would have to maintain an "other" system that would. R.L. Johnston outlined this issue clearly:

> An attempt was made to show that the village setting has a wealth of interaction in it to stimulate the writer: man against the environment, man against man, group against group, and handling of conflicts caused by a clash of cultures. It seems that much of the creative writing training in developing nations is conducted with an educated elite, writing principally as a means of personal catharsis, and emotionally rationalising their personal dissatisfaction at being caught between the traditional and the intruding life styles. These student writers cater for an elite audience. What we have been attempting in the courses at Ukarumpa is to provide a creative outlet for the less sophisticated and less privileged group, an outlet which produces materials useful for the further development of the rural communities from which the writers themselves come. (80)

D. CWAMEL and the Journals

This populist ideology was evident throughout Bays' three tours in PNG. While at CTC he was instrumental in helping his students to form a union, the Christian Writers Association of Melanesia (CWAMEL) and writers' clubs for union members. Acting on experience with the Christian Writers Association of Africa and the World Association for Christian Communications, Bays directed the formation of the Association at a December 1971 CTC course. He had been able to secure a year of funding for it from a church in Arlington Heights, Illinois, so no memberships had to be paid. The goal of the Association was to keep writers from the different courses in touch with one another. To this end local writers' clubs were formed, the first one being at Madang Teachers College. CWAMEL operated as a sort of Christian Literature Bureau. It was to publish a "journal containing articles of help and encouragement to writers, maintain a manuscript counselling and placement service, and help in getting educational materials to those studying writing methods at home." The organization was to be ecumenical and open to anyone who "writes, edits or translates religious matter for print, broadcasting or film" (*PNGW* 8 [1972]: 19).

The journal was called *Precept*; it was written in English and first appeared in May of 1972. Its name derived from two sources. The first was the four precepts to good writing: simplicity, brevity, sincerity, and originality. The second from its denotation -- right teachings. The journal was taken over, along with its sister Pidgin publication *Singaut Strong* (first issued November 1, 1972), by the United Church, under Josie Runes, after Bays left in 1973. In fact the United Church took over the whole CWAMEL programme. The first issue of *Precept* in 1974 acknowledged the debt Christian writers in PNG owed Bays and pledged not only to continue publishing the journal, but to

> assist writers and beginning writers to learn techniques of good writing. Workshops have been planned....a writers library is being organized at the Regional Office of the United Church....we are reprinting articles on basic writing techniques which the staff can send, free....(*Precept* 1 [1974]: 2-3)

Precept assumed most of its audience were rural teachers and that most were beginners. It also assumed that these teachers would encourage writing among their students. It urged them to obtain the best writing possible as models:

> not cheap, exciting-but-worthless romance, cowboy or war stories. Get **outstanding** literature. Write to librarians -- at your college, the university, the Public Library in the capital city. Ask them to list the 50 or so best **short** novels, biographies, histories and travel books from the libraries. (5)

The pages of *Precept* were filled with confessional literature and parables, exempla and patriotic poetry. Yet the journal encouraged translators to write, as well as collect from their students, oral literature: legends, myths, etc. For publication possibilities they were encouraged to contact the Education Department, DIES, or the Literature Bureau (6).

Clearly the attempt in *Precept*, as in the SIL courses, was to assist islanders to reach beyond Christian ideology in their creative writing. The chief means of doing this was to be through indigenous oral culture. Not surprisingly, these newly literate authors, for whom the whole process must have been fraught with paradox, seldom produced texts that emulated the "high" literature of the west.[30] Nevertheless, when Marjorie Crocombe edited the special PNG issue of "Mana" in *PIM*, 44.3 (1973), she included work by Glen Bays' students.

In addition to shaping the short writers' course in the mission system and establishing a writers' association/literature bureau clearing house, Glen Bays published several anthologies gathered from individual workshops. One example is *New Voices*, a Pidgin/English collection of about 14 legal-sized mimeographed pages. Publishing these inexpensive local anthologies, usually run off at the school or college where the workshop had taken place, was another practice he had found successful in Africa. Authors saw immediate results for their labour. Copies of the anthology were immediately available to use as teaching materials. Teachers and students gained prestige in the community through these results-oriented practical demonstrations of appropriate technology. And they were easily continued by teaching staff once the expat change agent had left.

Bays also established a number of periodicals devoted to writing. *Nobonob Nius* dates from his 1970-1973 tour at the CTC. A precursor to *Precept*, its readers were previous course participants. Its contents were poems, plays, short stories, and essays mostly in English, the odd one in Pidgin. Occasionally one of the students would edit *Nobonob Nius*. Issue 2 (1971) consisted of letters from former participants. Most indicated that they were not only writing, but submitting manuscripts to Kristen Pres, Kristen Pres' Literature Competitions, the

Literature Bureau's Literature Competitions, local drama festivals, etc. Many had started publications in their own areas. In 4 (1971), Bays was able to announce that two former students, Joseph Nidue and Paul Kavon were first and second place winners in Kristen Pres' Drama Competitions. Nidue had won a special prize for his Pidgin play in the 1971 Literature Bureau Competition. And A.K. Waim (who worked for Kristen Pres) had won a commendation from the Literature Bureau for a play entered in the same contest.

On Bays' second tour, from 1979-81, he was attached to the United Church's Christian Education and Communication Centre at Rabaul, the successor to the CTC. Seeing the need for a Pidgin journal for pastors, he established the interdenominational *Umben*. As an outlet for Pidgin literature, Bays also began a Pidgin literary journal called *Toksave*, using the same subtitle he had used for *Nobonob Nius*: "Rit Moa na Save Planti" [Read More and Learn]. *Umben* was typical of Bays' publications in that it was well-founded. Most of the journals he established in PNG still publish. The name *Umben* meant "net" and was meant to indicate the variety of its content. All articles were in Pidgin with a summary paragraph in English at the head. It was mimeographed, published monthly and contained about 35 pages. Although *Umben* invited stories, its content was mainly current events, lessons, and contemporary issues.

In 1984 during Bays' last tour, the periodical was transferred to the Melanesian Institute with Bays once more as editor for that year. In addition, he edited the Institute's scholarly publication *Point*, as well as its flagship pastoral journal, *Catalyst*. Both journals were, and are still, published in English. Under Bays' editorship the editorials in *Umben* were in Pidgin but, under Doris Davidson in 1986, they were in English. She was the last of the expat editors. By the end of 1986 the editor and all the technical staff were islanders.

Significant in this changeover to a native editor was the introduction of a listed Board of Directors (all of whom were expats and whose degrees and positions were also listed). The same practice had been followed with *PNGW* when Jack Lahui had taken over from Roger Boschman. The advisors were not only at the elbows of the newly-appointed indigenous editors, but were made clearly visible on the page containing the subscription information.

By 1990, the Catholics were in charge of *Umben*. The journal was placed under the general editorship of their Australian-trained PNG editor, Alphonse Aime, but edited by Sr. Anne Carroll. The magazine's format was changed: bigger, glossier, lots of photos, professionally printed, and political. It was still published in Tok Pisin, but now in Hiri Motu as well.

E. CTC Ends and the Christian Communications Commission (CCC) Begins

Although Glen Bays was very successful in publishing indigenous literature in journals, he was less successful in his arrangements at Kristen Pres. Although Christian Literature Fund moneys had been deposited with Kristen Pres, Bays had difficulty accessing it. The problem was that Kristen Pres had its own Board of Directors (Australian and American Lutherans) who were not persuaded that the CTC written product was Christian enough. Much of his students' work was critical of missionary practices and the Board would not accept it. The Director of Kristen Pres, Richard Adler, who had been one of the people who first encouraged Bays to come, had no voice on the Board. But the moneys were there specifically for CTC use, so Bays forced the issue. The money disappeared. This was the reason Bays was mimeographing and distributing locally. It was a pity because Kristen Pres had its own printing press, its own bookstores, and an established readership. After the relationship with Kristen Pres failed, the Literature Bureau and the Literature Competitions were a natural avenue for Bays' young writers.

At the end of his three-year term, Bays needed to return to the United States for family reasons. But it must have been a bitter leave-taking. Richard Adler has written that he and Bays agreed there was no point in renewing the contract for a full-time writing trainer since the churches were not willing to employ the graduates full-time (Schild 84). But the fact is that when Glen Bays left, the grant money left with him.

Many people in the mission system were at a loss as to how to recover from the failure of CTC. SIL continued its writing courses, but CTC had incorporated other programmes beyond writing. To some extent the efforts to create writers and structures that would support writers simply diffused back among the different churches. Some of it was chanelled into the Melanesian Institute. One important initiative was taken by Richard Adler, as Chairman of the Christian Publishers and

Booksellers Association (CPBA). In 1973, the CPBA launched the Periodicals Pilot Project, which was intended to support general periodical production. Association members were willing to provide short courses (about 10 days long) in news reporting and manuscript preparation, editing, layout and design and distribution techniques. Moneys were to be made available for a 3-year period to enable this training. The Association was even willing to provide seed money for up to 18 months in order to establish the periodical. The goal was to provide interesting secular reading materials at the village level (Adler 17).

Some of the creative activity within the mission system took a sharp turn into another technology, radio. The National Broadcasting Commission had three programmes that brought Christian news and stories: New Guinea News (local news), Christian and Mission News, and Lay Missionary Stories (Runes 88). But there existed a host of small Evangelical-controlled broadcasting operations that might be turned to the greater good.

At a Christian Communications Conference in Fiji in 1972, people involved in publications and broadcasting from across the South Pacific had met to form an umbrella organization that would stimulate efforts to co-ordinate the publishing and broadcasting of Christian materials. Glen Bays had been elected the first director of the newly-formed Christian Communications Commission (CCC). The idea in PNG was to decentralize from Madang, with each church doing more of its own work, but with a national information clearing house and a co-ordinator. One of Bays' special tasks was to take advantage of the country's extensive network of radio outlets, as a means of distributing Christian texts quicker and cheaper than in print. This meant pressing those small Evangelical broadcasting outlets in the Highlands to co-operate and improve their operations. It meant co-ordinating the publishing efforts of Kristen Pres and the Catholic Church. Just as Bays was beginning this work, the situation at CTC and at home occasioned the end of his first PNG contract.

Richard Adler succeeded Bays in 1973 and was still director when Bays was called back to PNG in 1979 by the United Church. It was into an expanded communications network, with its focus on broadcasting, that Bays returned. It was during this second period that he realized how shallow had been the penetration of writing into PNG society and how strong was the tradition of music. One of his chief activities from 1979-81 was to develop and distribute a large catalogue of cassette tapes. The tapes were produced in English, Pidgin and several vernaculars. Many of them were recordings of local choral groups. Some were recordings of sermons and readings. Poet Apisai Enos was featured on one tape reading poems he had written for children. The tapes were hugely successful, especially the music. Their reception prompted Bays to re-assess the period of decolonization in which he had played so crucial a part; he concluded that in bringing literacy and creative writing to a non-literate society, he had brought the wrong technology.

F. Kristen Pres

Aside from Word Publishing, the Lutheran enterprise, Kristen Pres, was the other great mission publishing house in PNG. Formed just the year before Bays arrived, in 1969, Kristen Pres developed rapidly to a staff of 70 in 1973, of whom 50 were islanders. The directors of the Pres had exactly the same self-sufficiency scheme as the Catholic operation. In order to be viable, the Pres would need to house its own printing facility, book bindery, graphics and sales department, and distribution network. The Pres was and is well-funded and has succeeded in providing the physical manifestations of a publishing house.

In the early 1970s, PNG writers had high hopes for Kristen Pres. Under Adler, it was very active in promoting creative writing. For three years it ran its own literary contest and contributed for several years to the National Contests. It published hundreds of small, inexpensive volumes (about 40 cents [Australian] each) in the early 1970s. The print runs were optimistic: about 3,000. Most of their books were meant as Christian reading material, but many were not. In 1972, for example, along with Nidue and Pasinganlogo's *Return from the Unknown* (#805 in the KP catalogue), were *Today's Stories from New Guinea* (800), *Parables for New Guinea* (803), *Torn Between Two Worlds* (804), *Tales from Long Ago* (806), *Creation Legends from New Guinea* (807). The writing was good; the texts were interesting to read. There was obviously an editorial commitment to the work. The Foreword to Nidue and Pasinganlogo's book reads:

> Let no one get the idea that a country that has no written history has no literary heritage. The literary tradition of

> Papua New Guinea is a rich one, based on the tales and legends of the many tribes. Kristen Pres is happy to help preserve this heritage in written from [sic], beginning with these two prize-winning entries to our First Annual Writing Contest.

In 1976, Sister M. Duchesne Lavin, who had collected and edited the poems in *Pwapwa* (Lotu Pasifika, 1973), trusted Kristen Pres with *Mau'u: Legends of the Past...Dreams of the Future*. Like all of Sister Lavin's collections, these poems by women attending the Sacred Heart Teachers College at Kabaleo, New Britain, were of literary worth. Furthermore, unlike many mission publications, they dealt mainiy with human experience and not overtly with Christian experience.

Nevertheless, despite its good intentions, Kristen Pres was never able to develop a stable group of creative writers, nor a reliable readership. In a 1975 interview with Jerry Berg, the then director, Ulla Schild discovered one of the reasons for this failure. Berg himself was interested mainly in the technical, not the intellectual, production of books. Because of his own background and abilities, he had not been able to promote creative writing for the Pres in the same way that Richard Adler had before him, or in the way Kevin Walcot had for Word Publishing (Schild 86ff). The strong, stable innovator at the centre of a self-sustaining institution that was the key to *Wantok*'s success was simply not present in the person of Jerry Berg. Besides these limitations in a particular director, the ideological restrictions imposed on the publishing programme by the Board (and experienced first-hand by Glen Bays) further restricted the Pres' access to creative manuscripts and to a broader readership.

NOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1. Good examples of writers who were comfortable in both systems are Kumalau Tawali, Bernard Narokobi, Apisai Enos, and Arthur Jawodimbari. Each of these authors contributed to university-, mission-, or Literature Bureau-based journals. Enos has written and recorded stories and poems for children that were distributed as part of Glen Bays' audio programme in the 1980s; he has also been published by Papua Pocket Poets. Although Arthur Jawodimbari calls himself a "retired Anglican," and Bernard Narokobi has grave misgivings about some of the excesses of Christian missionaries, both have edited, written, or performed in each system. Kumalau Tawali, a one-time member of Moral Re-armament and currently working with SIL in Manus, has written and edited in both systems. The commitment to PNG culture as a whole seems to override particular affiliations for these writers.

2. This question of which institutions survive and how is an interesting one. Time, for instance, does not seem to be as important a factor as is the distribution of roles. Kevin Walcot was editor of *Wantok* for a decade but, by the time it was indigenized, *Wantok* had become part of a much larger publishing venture (still with *expat* control at the board level and with external financing); the newspaper no longer relied on Walcot's presence or participation. On the other hand, Ulli Beier's editorship of *Black Orpheus* also lasted for 10 years. Yet when he left Nigeria, both *Black Orpheus* and the Mbari writers clubs that he had formed faltered; these institutions relied entirely on one energetic European with access to foreign financing.

3. The pattern is repeated, then, from the *Papuan Villager* and from the practice of the SIL literacy workers. The assumption is that if islanders take over the work of anthropologists and missionaries in transcribing their oral culture, their culture will be preserved. The assumption is also that the transfer from the oral to the written is an easy one.

4. Whenever I am referring specifically to the first four volumes of the Literature Bureau's journal under Don Maynard, I will use *NGW*; whenever I am specifically referring to the later

issues of the journal under Roger Boschman and Jack Lahui, I will use *PNGW*; and whenever I am referring to general practices or features of the journal over its earlier and later phases, I will use *(P)NGW*.

5. The Chakravarti and Kais bibliography lists 18 reviews of *The Crocodile*, mostly in Australian newspapers and journals.

6. Vincent Eri understood the straight-jacket his position as a civil servant placed him in and remarked in a 1972 interview that "Many of those literate enough to express their views are Public Servants and as such, they cannot express views that are contrary to Government policies....there should be some laxity in this rule because if the Public Servants can't speak, it's very difficult to imagine how else Papua New Guinean views could be known" (*PNGW* 6 [1972]: 12-13).

7. Rabaul had at the time the best high schools and the highest literacy rate in the country. It was because of the number of potential readers in the Rabaul area that *Wantok* began publishing near there in Wewak in 1970.

8. West Irian is the western half of the main island which constitutes the bulk of the land mass for PNG today. It has been variously known as West Irian, Irian Jaya, and now, West Papua. It is a colony of Indonesia. Although the current study will not dwell on the politics of the name changes for the territory, the reader should note that the morality of this artificially imposed split of island peoples forms an uneasy theme in island politics and, occasionally, in island literature.

9. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of terms were current. "Papua and New Guinea" was used in some quarters, while "Niugini," or "New Guinea," was favoured in others. This same argument recurs only four years later in *PNGW* when the issue of whether to include Pidgin stories and translation of Pidgin into English is debated in the "Letters-to-the-Editor" section of the journal. The issue became one of finance and national pride. Most readers were concerned that foreign subscribers be able to understand the journal and therefore continue to subscribe; some readers were uninterested in the off-shore readership and quite comfortable with their

home-grown language (see issues 11 [1973] and following for this debate).

10. The following is gleaned from a careful analysis of every issue of *(P)NGW*. Therefore, no specific citation will be provided. Where I have relied on other sources, these will be indicated.

11. This practice was diametrically opposite that of *Kovave*, where the Table of Contents was quite specific about genre. *Kovave* contains particular categories for folklore, as opposed to creative writing. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, *Kovave*'s generic distinctions were often more confusing than explanatory. It would be interesting to study whether these two approaches produced any real differences in PNG short stories. Sharrad's study of the short story does not consider this factor.

12. See Ulla Schild for elaboration of Beier's position on the Literature Bureau. Beier was highly suspicious that any venture by a colonial government could have a positive contribution to literature. His comments regarding the Literature Bureau and similar comments regarding the missions reveal more about Beier and his own "mission" than they do about the other literary institutions in PNG.

13. This practice was directly analogous to the university-based system drawing its material from creative writing and expressive arts classes at the University and Goroka Teachers College. The mission-based system drew mainly from the writing courses at CTC.

14. In 1988, for example, Literature Competition submissions include 13 novels, 88 short stories, 785 poems, 28 radio plays, 12 stage plays, 42 traditional histories, 12 lyrical songs, 150 legends, and 35 essays (*Niugini Nius* Jan. 13, 1989, 2).

15. The 1972 list included Russell Soaba, Bernard Narokobi, Allain Jaria for plays. The 1973 list cited H. Riyong, Kama Kerpi, and Russell Soaba for poetry; John Wills Kaniku (later Teloti Kaniku) for plays; and Benjamin Umba for short story. Bernard Narokobi won a drama prize in 1974. In 1977 Teloti

Kaniku swept the short story category and won in plays as well. While not complete, this list is representative.

16. The Literature Competitions continue to this day and are just as popular. They have been expanded to include a yearly prize for novels. They are testimony to the wealth of creative talent and energy in PNG and evidence that, were there only publishing opportunities and a stronger reading habit in the country, a literary system would flourish.

17. Ulli Beier left PNG in 1971 to return to Nigeria. At about that time most of the first generation of UPNG writers graduated or left school; many of them stopped writing because they were entering their chosen professions, or because they had become involved in local politics. In 1973, Glen Bays left PNG and CTC folded. Both systems had faltered at the same time.

18. Writers Day continues to coincide with the September Literature Competition announcements, not coincidentally just two weeks after the September 15th National Day.

19. See Pidik, Gipey Okona, and Sesiguo in 13 (1974) and 14 (1974).

20. Lahui's calls for the establishment of a Literature Board were repeated a decade later in 1983b by Kirpal Singh, who wanted to see the Board establish fellowships, organize workshops, develop a school visitation programme for writers and assist with publishing. In other words, the two men wanted state support for writers in the same sense that the Australian Literature Board supported writers.

21. This extremely uncertain work environment is evident in the rising desperation of Lahui's editorials and in the inconsistencies of those editorials. Ulla Schild reports that, in a 1975 interview, Lahui had proposed the opposite course of action; that is, that the Literature Bureau *not* become a publishing house. He saw his position as that of a mediator between author and publisher, an advisor over copyright and so on (79). The same inconsistency is evident in Lahui's 28 (1977) editorial when, fresh from the Iowa Writing Program, he claimed

that creative writing could not be taught. What the writer needed was "not tuition but timely exposure to the world around him." Only one year earlier Lahui had complimented a teacher of creative writing, complaining that in the past the Bureau had conducted courses in various schools throughout the country, but that these had been abandonned due to lack of finance (21/22 [1976] Letters-to-the-Editor).

22. After collapsing the Literature Bureau into the IPNGS in 1978, the Government further consolidated the Institute within the NCC. In 1988, the NCC was put under the aegis of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation. The Government subsequently repealed the Culture Act, thus detaching all cultural bodies from what enabling links they had left. In 1993, Tourism was dismantled as well to become the Tourism Development Corporation. When I talked to Jack Lahui in the spring of 1993, he had no idea what was to become of cultural interests in PNG.

23. John Collier is an Australian anthropologist who settled in PNG and took citizenship, changing the spelling of his name to reflect this decision. A highly controversial figure, Kolia has written many novels set in PNG, four of which were published by IPNGS the first year he was there, virtually using up all the Institute's paper allocation. Soaba's first novel *Wanpis* had just been published before Kolia's. In a 1983 *Ondobondo* review of *Wanpis*, Zak Tiamon commented, "Since the printing of *Wanpis* in 1977, there have been numerous volumes, published in quick succession by John Kolia. When closely analyzed, these are nothing but mere footnotes of *Wanpis*" (30).

Kolia has contributed in a substantial way to the literary life of the colony: as a judge of the Competitions, as Director of IPNGS, as a novelist, playwright, stage director and poet. Since he is white, and has rarely held an "official" position, no study of PNG literature has ever properly considered his role; but his participation is an undeniable factor deserving of attention. Like other *expats* who adopted a native style of living, Kolia was both welcome and suspect. His personality was difficult and the reaction to him often extremely negative. To give some notion of the feeling some islanders have with regard to him is this angrily pencilled note at the bottom of the archival copy of the Discussion Paper by John Kolia that I used at the University of

Hawaii: "John Kolia is an Englishman who has failed in European society. He was John Collier till taking PNG citizenship. Even the Hula people of central province -- the people he studies -- can't stand him" (7).

24. This information from personal communication with Beier in 1992.

25. See GTC section of Chapter Three for the non-political nature of the College's staff, students and programmes.

26. The information about Kaniku's early career in theatre is taken from a *PNGW* interview with Roger Boschman in 5 (1972): 12-13.

27. This decentralization scheme was partly in response to secession movements and had begun in earnest in 1980. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

28. Unless otherwise indicated, the information contained in this section was gathered during telephone interviews with Glen Bays in March 1993.

29. Taban Lo Liyong, one of the judges of the short story contest, commented in *PNGW* that only one of the entries looked like a short story. The rest were taken from oral culture. The only way he could judge the entries was to look for a good story well told (28 [1977]: 20).

30. That is not to say, they did not write. The church, school, mission, newspaper and national archives of PNG are well stocked with writers' workshop anthologies and the like. They form an untouched reservoir of early PNG literature in English, Pidgin and the vernaculars.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRANSFER OF INSTITUTIONS II: UPNG AND GTC

I. THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM AND ULLI BEIER

A. Creative Writing Classes

Although each of PNG's shadow systems owes its genesis to the energy and productivity of a single individual, no literary system can continue that way. There was a constellation of activity around the central change agent of each system. This is especially true for UPNG's Language and Literature Department during the 1960s and 1970s. But there can be no doubt that, at first, the star at the centre of that system was Ulli Beier. In the campaign to staff the new university, Chairs from UPNG routinely advertised in the United Kingdom. Beier had been teaching literature in Nigeria since 1950.[1] Through the Mbari Clubs he promoted artistic and literary experimentation and cultural regeneration. Enthused by the previous success of *Présence Africaine* (established in 1947), he had established the journal *Black Orpheus* in 1957. With the Nigerian Civil War looming on the horizon, the disintegration of Mbari Ibadan, and a host of other problems to deal with, Beier left in 1966. When he saw the advertisement framed by F.C. Johnson, Chair of UPNG's Department of Language and Literature, he was intrigued. Johnson was looking for someone to teach New English Literature from Developing Countries. To Beier's knowledge, he had been the first person to teach African literature. In 1966, few universities in the world could afford him the opportunity to continue teaching it. Johnson hired him as a Senior Lecturer and gave him complete freedom to develop the literature courses as he saw fit. It was a happy marriage of minds.

Beier's teaching at UPNG took two directions: one, creative writing, was totally unexpected; the other, oral literature and new literatures in English, was a continuation of his decolonizing work in Africa. Beier has indicated on several occasions his mistrust of creative writing courses as potentially destructive (Beier Letter, 1992; K. Powell 1979, 41). However, on his arrival, he discovered that literature courses were worth only a 1/2 unit in the students' programmes. Students were required to complete the unit with a language course. The idea was that their English language skills needed to be improved in order for them to be able to appreciate the literature classes. Courses were therefore paired: Introductory Linguistics with Traditions of Oral Literature; Introductory English Linguistics with Literature of Developing Countries in English, etc. (UPNG Calendar 1968). According to Beier, his best students had no need of these language courses and hated them.[2] In order to keep the students enrolled in literature, Beier convinced the university administration to offer a third route to literature through creative writing courses. Those students interested in creative writing obviously had an adequate grasp of English and could therefore substitute creative writing courses for the language courses (Schild 71ff; Beier Letter). The attempt to integrate language, literature and creative writing was evident in this change of programme at UPNG and was reflected in the Department of Education's embracing the creative writing course Beier began in Rabaul in 1968. That this co-operation was the ideal and not the practice was painfully clear in Mike Greicus' insistence that:

> In order to insure a close relationship between the university programmes and the needs of the nation's schools Professor Johnson and individual department members are in direct contact with schools and the Department of Education at Konedobu. Thus, the language, literature and creative writing programmes both support and reflect the growth of language and literature courses at all levels in Papua New Guinea. (In Brash and Greicus 33)

What must be understood from Greicus' statement is that literature in 1972 was **still** not a subject in PNG's schools, but that some members of the Department of Education wished it were.

Beier's role as gatekeeper to UPNG's writers is evident in his management of these courses. He accepted only 6-8 students per class in order to be able to work with them individually. Students could only attend creative writing courses by invitation in their second year of studies. The invitation was based on talent and on the writer's personality. Students were to submit samples of their work in their first year. They received no credit for these submissions. If the writing was deemed promising, Beier would decide if he could get along with the individual writers. In this way, he sometimes rejected gifted people he didn't think he could work with. The classes were conducted in a relaxed manner. On Monday, students submitted manuscripts and on Wednesday, Beier would discuss the manuscripts with each person in turn. Students were free to choose subject, theme and genre. They also had the choice of submitting an improved draft of the manuscript for the following week, or of submitting a new manuscript (Beier Letter; Schild 71ff).

The writers who came out of these courses have become the core of the early PNG canon which, it must be remembered, was largely created by Beier himself. Most of the students were interested in drama. The UPNG playwrights were Leo Hannet, John Waiko, Kumalau Tawali, Rabbie Namaliu, Arthur Jawodimbari, John Kasaipwalova, and Russell Soaba (K. Powell 1979, 48 n.2). Although Beier himself was not involved in dramatic productions, Peter Trist was. Some of the students from the Administrative College were involved with the earliest, Beier-inspired, version of the CCA. Trist, a UPNG employee, had approached these people to see whether they would be interested in forming

> some sort of a society which could involve all the people interested in drama in order to present plays to entertain and to instruct the students and also to attract some town people to come out to Waigani...(Minol 1985, 24)

Students felt they were too isolated from the larger community and were anxious to encourage the general public to come to the campus.

The Arts and Drama Society's first play night consisted of a one-act version of a Greek myth followed by a scene from George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*. The audience was polite over these English-language plays which they barely understood. Then came the blockbuster -- Leo Hannet's *Rod*

Bilong Kago, in Pidgin. The audience was ecstatic. The student authors were very excited by Hannet's reception. The University Arts and Drama Society became a powerful publication force for the next decade in PNG. So popular were its productions that the University agreed to build an Outdoor Theatre to accommodate its work.

In addition to these playwrights were poets and prose writers like Apisai Enos, Dus Mapun, Vincent Eri, John Kadiba, John Saunana, Siuras Kavani. Most of the writers listed continue to write. Most have been involved in public affairs all their adult lives. Only Russell Soaba and Arthur Jawodimbari have been able to continue writing consistently and this is largely because of their employment at UPNG and in the theatre.

Very noticeable in Beier's stable is the predominance of coastal writers. There were no Highlanders. This was representative of the University population as a whole at the time. Papuans outnumbered others 3:1. This imbalance evened out in later years (K. Powell 1979, 25 n.5). Equally noticeable is the absence of women. There were very few PNG women at UPNG at all. In 1968 only 6 out of the 58 UPNG students were women and by 1973 men still outnumbered women 9:1. According to Powell, PNG women were not politically involved until 1974:

> Socially and sexually, Papua New Guinean women students were often the victims of male aggression and male possessivenesss, their own immaturity, and a lip-service Puritanism. (1979, 27)

It is not surprising, then, that in the highly-charged political atmosphere of Beier's creative writing classes no woman dared set foot. In contrast, the pages of *NGW*, and *PNGW* and the creative writing classes and journals of Glen Bays regularly and increasingly feature the presence and the writing of women. As a result there was a distinct absence in the university-based system of major published works by women. To this day, most of the novels, poetry collections, and story anthologies from PNG date from Beier's time, a time dominated by the politics of men.

Beier is probably most remembered in PNG for his mentoring, first of political activist and trade unionist Albert Maori Kiki in the writing of his autobiography, *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime* (1968). Beier met Kiki on his way to PNG and recognized in him a born story-teller. Beier encouraged Kiki to speak his story on tape. He edited and slightly re-structured the book and made sure it found a publisher. It was the first book to be written by a Papua New Guinean. The book's success brought $3,000 in 1970 from the Australian Literature Fund to write another. Kiki joined with Beier to write *Hohao* a work describing lost customs of the Kerema people. Both books were very well received in Australia. But at home Australian *expats* were wary: "Some people considered it a kind of impudence, others doubted that he had done it himself. Some bookshops refused to sell it and only a few schools acquired it for their libraries" (Beier 1971b, 123). Kiki's autobiography was reviewed around the world.[3] Beier reports that his students were encouraged by Kiki's success. His autobiography had demonstrated that writing could be used as a political tool. According to Beier, the students were sick of being "anthropologized to death, missionized to death, and administered to death. They felt -- rightly -- misunderstood and misrepresented" (Beier Letter, 1992).

Beier's success in finding, developing and publishing creative talent was further augmented by the publication of Vincent Eri's novel *The Crocodile* in 1969. Eri developed the novel in Beier's creative writing course. In order to place it, Beier went to Jacaranda Press of Brisbane who, according to Beier, had made a fortune from school books in PNG. He convinced them they had a ready readership for the first PNG novel. Australians had been using PNG as an exotic backdrop for fiction for decades; they would jump at a chance to read a novel by a "native." Beier was right. Australian reviewers praised the novel and the Pacific Writers Series, with Beier as its general editor, became part of Jacaranda's programme.[4]

It is plain to see that Beier was an enthusiastic supporter of those few people who were allowed into his creative writing courses at UPNG. None of the writers felt directed to write in a certain genre according to a particular ideology. All of them felt Beier's editorial hand was light. This is an important issue in a system dominated by one individual. It is additionally important in an unstable period like decolonization where the central figure was not indigenous. In a June 1973 *PIM* review of PNG literature, Peter Livingston likened UPNG writing to a small industry producing "chips on the shoulder" of Ulli Beier. The Livingston article valorized instead PNG author Paulias Matane as truly representative of PNG writing; Matane, who had not attended UPNG, was simple, descriptive, and natural. Kirsty Powell lashed out at Livingston in the August issue of *PIM*. In her view Livingston represented the colonial opinion that islanders were incapable of intellectual activity and were therefore incapable of producing high literature without assistance. Realizing that she was in an ideal situation to document Beier's influence, Powell constructed a series of questionnaires to writers as part of her 1979 Master's thesis on PNG's first playwrights. In response to questions about Beier's teaching methods and editorial practices, Rabbie Namaliu reported that:

> He was a pioneer, for he shattered the old Shibboleth that Niuginians can only be evoked as subjects, but that they can't write...he saw our potential, he encouraged our talents, and over a period of four years, Niugini had its own literature written by its own artists. (Qtd. in K. Powell 1979, 42)

According to Powell, these comments were representative. The hand-picked group of writers surrounding Beier were the most politicized of all the students at UPNG and the most vocal (Tiffin interview with Soaba 15). For them writing was an anti-colonial tool and Beier made no objections to their using it that way. Only one writer was somewhat ambivalent; not surprisingly, "Odd-Man Out" Russell Soaba told Powell that he had always dreamed of becoming an independent artist. For Soaba, true art was "neither didactic nor explanatory"; it was "always the outward expression of the inner necessity of that particular artist." Because of this stance, Soaba "found it hard to conform to Ulli Beier's methods of having to have Niuginian writers express their discontent of being under colonial rule" (Qtd. in K. Powell 1979, 44). Powell's assessment of the writers' reactions to Beier was that anti-colonialism was in the air, that it was a natural topic to choose (44). There is no denying this. Yet Powell herself remarks that the only anti-colonial writing in the colony came out of Ulli Beier's creative writing classes (1979, v).

Beier disclaims any attempt to produce writers with an anti-colonial bias. He told Powell that he had difficulty getting writers to write about anything else (K. Powell 1979, 44). In fact, he had written two short plays under the name, "Lovori"[5] with the aim of demonstrating "native" writing that was *not* anti-colonial. *Alive* and *They Never Return* were meant to be dramatic renditions of island legends. They were also meant to indicate the possibility of adding the "imagery and idiom of plestok" to English. Beier wanted to show students how they could re-shape English to suit their own circumstances (K. Powell 1979, 544). Both plays were performed in PNG and Beier even placed *Alive* in his first published anthology of PNG plays, *Five New Guinea Plays* (Jacaranda: 1971). What is more, *Alive* and *They Never Return* were performed in Canberra in 1969 along with John Waiko's *The Unexpected Hawk*. Beier had met Al Butavicius, Director of Prompt Theatre at a UNESCO seminar on the arts at the Australian National University earlier that year. Butavicius was interested in indigenous drama that demonstrated the similarities of western myth. In particular he was considering productions that demonstrated the likeness of

Greek myth and Aboriginal taboo. Beier suggested he consider the plays written by Lovori and Waiko. Butavicius was struck by their mythological, folksy quality. *They Never Return* especially seemed to resemble the Orpheus-Eurydice myth (Barns 1969, n.p.). The next year Butavicius produced four plays at the New Theatre in Sydney: *Alive, The Old Man's Reward, The Unexpected Hawk*, and *The Ungrateful Daughter*. Reviewer Katherine Brisbane was most struck by the authenticity of Lovori's play *Alive*. On the other hand, Brisbane thought *Unexpected Hawk* and *Ungrateful Daughter* to be awkward and moralizing (Brisbane 1971, n.p.). These were the two *genuine* PNG plays.[6] Although PNG writers refused to follow Beier's push in the direction of oral tradition, the Australian audience was clearly willing to accept such writing as "ethnic," "authentic," even universal. It was Lovori's work, not genuine PNG writing, that opened the door in Australia (and later in Africa) to PNG drama. As an agent of change, Beier felt it necessary to transmit a particular cultural view to the majority audience, the white Australians. The cultural view he chose was remarkably similar to that expressed in Amos Tutuola's first work *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* and achieved the same result; it piqued the orientalist curiosity of the western audience without frightening it.

The reasons why Beier's cultural theme never really took hold were the direct result of colonial education practices. The students at UPNG were much too divorced from their own oral traditions to be able to act on his demonstration. Kirsty Powell concluded that the playwrights:

> learned to over-value written literature, and although they responded eagerly to the idea of collecting their own myths and legends, in the field of drama they failed to appreciate fully the possibility of a living interaction between oral and written forms (79).

When some of Beier's students finally turned to traditional forms, they had to research the details. "In order to revive *matcha*, for example, Kumalau Tawali had to read Margaret Mead and talk to Manus elders" (60).

The difference between colonial experiences and reception of the oral tradition by writers is important to note. In PNG, this very small group of elitist writers was unable, or unwilling, to deal with oral tradition. But, in Africa, Beier's play *Alive* was performed and well received. Beier commented on this anomaly:

> As I came to Papua New Guinea from Nigeria, I...tried to encourage this kind of writing [i.e. based on folklore]. When teaching at the University of PNG I introduced such Nigerian writers as Amos Tutuola, D.O. Fagunwa and Duro Ladipo; I even wrote a couple of plays myself, based on folklore themes. Curiously these ultimately proved more attractive to Nigerian theatre companies than to New Guinean ones. Most writers in the late sixties and early seventies were more concerned with the themes of independence and colonialism, with cultural identity and with the conflict of generations. (1978, 17)

In a review of *Five New Guinea Plays*, and obviously unaware of who Lovori really was, Abiola Irele called *Alive* marvellous in comparison to the amateurish effects of the others in the collection. In his opinion, *Alive* was "a dramatization of a local myth which has close and immediate affinities with the African tradition, and whose appeal for us is thus obvious" (51). The only other PNG play of the period to use this approach was *The Sun* by Arthur Jawodimbari, who had taken advantage of the Beier connection to study in Nigeria. Irele reviews Jawodimbari's play as well:

> Even more impressive is the play *The Sun*, by Arthur Jawodimbari, published in *Kovave*, vol. 2 No. 1. This play realizes in more telling dramatic terms, which brings in song and dance, the possibilities of another local myth, and gives a serious dimension to the efforts of these new writers to create for their world a modern, authentic idiom of artistic expression. (51)[7]

Beier thought this difference between Nigeria and PNG reception of folklore arose from the fact that literature was "not taught at all in Papua New Guinea schools." Since the Department of Education considered literature to be a "superfluous luxury," Beier considered it predictable that writers would not take folklore seriously (1978, 17). K. Powell added another dimension to this tendency among PNG writers. She claimed that PNG's wholesale adoption of Christianity had meant an almost total loss of native religion. Since oral traditions were so intimately connected to rite and ceremony, Powell could understand why the playwrights did not use folkloric materials. She commented that of the 13 early playwrights 8 were sons of, or closely related to, churchmen (1979, 13). She continued to say that, in the 1966 census, only 4.2 percent of islanders claimed to follow native religion (65). Not surprising then that these sons and nephews of pastors and deacons should have so little acquaintance with their own culture. Powell contrasted this situation with that of the Yoruba, whose religious belief was still intact, despite colonialism.

As a long-time associate of Beier's on the journal *Black Orpheus* in Nigeria, Irele had no trouble recognizing something familiar in the folkloric plays by Lovori and Jawodimbari. Whether this was Beier shaping Nigerian aesthetics or the other way round would be an interesting avenue for exploration." Yet even those who were not looking at Beier from a Nigerian perspective could recognize the pattern in the literary activity surrounding him. Paul Sharrad has commented on Beier's method:

> The ideal is to enable the Papua New Guinean to discover new ways of building upon indigenous tradition so that the future can be creatively assimilated. The method is to act as catalyst, supplying new media to work with and coaching on ways of dealing with the technical problems of the medium. (6)

In Sharrad's opinion there was a Beier model which showed up in the "historical reconstruction, the folktale preservation, the transcriptions of taped memoirs, [and in] the overwhelmingly autobiographical element" (6).

There were, then, two sides to creative writing during the Beier years at UPNG. PNG writing began when decolonization was in full roar around the world. As a result, many of Beier's most committed writers were anti-colonial despite his own bias in favour of the rejuvenation of local cultures. Most prominent of these were Hannet, Kasaipwalova, Waiko, and Jawodimbari. Only a handful of UPNG students such as Tawali and Enos were initially committed to that second, but most fundamental, aspect of Beier's programme. However, the dichotomy between groups of writers was not a neat one. Jawodimbari, as noted above, wrote a play based on legend and went on to work with the NTC. John Kasaipwalova, after his political involvement with the Kabisawali movement in the Trobriands, began to write plays based on the folk tradition of the *Kesawaga*. What is quite clear is that Beier had a cultural agenda that at times meshed with the national imperative and that at times was inimical to it. His own ambivalence to nationalism is evident in his very political choice of textual models for PNG literature classes, as opposed to his oft-repeated comments about the transitional and essentially uninteresting nature of anti-colonial writing (1978, 18). As a teacher within the literary system just prior to Independence he must have felt annoyed when the nationalist agenda overwhelmed his own.

B. Literature Courses

From its inception under F.C. Johnson, the Language and Literature Department determined to abandon the historical teaching of English literature. Johnson wanted PNG students to use literature for enjoyment and to develop an ability to read critically. He was concerned that they appreciate literature as an art form among others and that they themselves begin to write. Above all, this creativity and critical analysis was to be built on the discovery, maintenance, propagation and development of oral literature (Greicus in Brash and Greicus 32). Johnson's emphasis on traditional literature was central to the Oral Literature course. It was the compulsory first unit from the beginning and remains the first course in the Department's Calendar offerings to this day. Students were, and are still, required to collect material for the course. When Beier taught, the students were to gather oral texts at home over the Christmas holidays between the preliminary year and the first actual year of university. They were to transcribe and translate these myths, legends, songs, and poems for use in studying oral genres. Beier would supplement their efforts with African and other texts.[9]

The following listing from 1969 is indicative of the prescribed texts for oral literature:

U. Beier. *The Origin of Life and Death.*
Beier and Gbadamosi. *Not Even God is Ripe Enough.*
A. Tutuola. *The Palm-Wine Drinkard.*
O. Ijimere. *The Imprisonment of Obatala.*
S. Thompson and J. Balys. *The Oral Tales of India.*
P. Chakravarti and U. Beier. *The Oral Poetry of Bengal.*

That is, the texts reflected the interests of Beier and Chakravarti: African and Indian, as well as whatever Pacific materials they could find or generate themselves. As soon as local materials were available, Beier placed them on the syllabus, often before they were actually published. For example, Beier and Chakravarti's *Sun and Moon in New Guinea Folklore* was one of many stencils used for the class. The pace and the immediacy of the process was staggering. Beier's idea was to put before his students their own imagery, metaphor and allusion. His idea was to force them to work from their own art outward -- a reversal of the process of colonization. Beier was at one and the same time training, editing, mentoring, and publishing PNG literature. His student-authors were the immediate audience and, if they couldn't write the material fast enough (or with the appropriate cultural slant), he was prepared to do it for them. A one-man band.[10]

Identity formation was certainly at the base of this insistence on oral literature. Beier saw it as a pre-condition to political action. And it likely was. All decolonizing agents became enmeshed in the necessity for national unity. Cultural cohesiveness needed to be built on cultural awareness and pride. The ramifications of this change strategy were many and varied. As will be discussed in the next two chapters, it backfired as a means of creating national unity. As has been discussed in this chapter and in Chapter Two, it was only marginally successful in producing a written literature. Where it did work was in the decolonizing of anthropology. PNG was easily the most over-anthropologized place on earth. It was necessary to wrest control of "culture" away, not from the missionaries, but from the anthropologists. This became the battlecry of the agents of literary decolonization.

The briefest glance at the pages of any early literary journal in PNG, whether it be part of the university-based or mission-based system, or part of the Literature Bureau, leaves one very solid impression: islanders were being urged on all fronts to take over the task of cultural collection and preservation from *expat* anthropologists. It was the single-most prominent decolonizing imperative in the production of literature. The irony of asking people who had embraced the western view of the individual to root their writing in the collective is readily apparent. Like the single-language for national unity, it was an imposed solution to an imposed problem. Did the change agents themselves realize this? When I asked Ulli Beier if the intent of the Oral Literature course was to produce homegrown anthropologists, his response was firmly negative. Yet the following passage taken from the 1973 course description of Oral Literature suggests that, by then at least, and with IPNGS in the offing, anthropology was being decolonized too:

> One of the major aims of this course is to give our students enough knowledge of theme and device that is the basis of all creative writing. Another aim of this course is to acquaint our students with the modern techniques of collecting, analyzing, classifying and archiving the oral material. (UPNG Calendar 160-61)

This material has been carefully preserved in Departmental files and then in the National Archives and at IPNGS.

The other literature courses at UPNG followed a fairly stable pattern. Beier felt the historical study of English literature was both culturally and linguistically inappropriate. He recalled an instructor at the University of Ibadan returning to Africa from a holiday in England with a daffodil chilled on ice in order to explain Wordsworth. He doubted the value of teaching texts in older versions of a foreign language. Shakespeare would be doubly difficult for his students because of this very factor (Schild 69-70). Beier chose to focus on the twentieth century. Whether the courses were called Modern Literature, Emerging Literatures, The Study of Literature, their model texts formed a uniform syllabus for the next decade. European works (rather than strictly English) were mostly Modernist, Existential, or Absurdist and chosen from a restricted list of authors: Conrad, Camus, Sartre, Brecht, Golding, Orwell, Dostoevsky, Lawrence, Ionesco, Giraudoux, Eliot, and others. Most other models were chosen from new literatures in English. The most frequently represented were West African writers: Soyinka, Achebe, Tutuola, Ijimere, Okara. Of the East African, Ngugi, and p'Bitek predominated. Of the South African Mphahlele, Abrahams, Nkosi, La Guma, and Fugard. Francophone African authors that consistently appeared on course syllabi were Beti, Oyono, and Laye. West Indian writers were primarily represented by Selvon and Naipaul (UPNG calendars 1968-69).[11]

An analysis of the list of authors and texts reveals a preponderance of prose and drama. The poetry of negritude was introduced in creative writing classes, but Beier preferred his students to bring in native examples of poetry, or to write their own. He felt that it was from poetry that they would develop a distinctive literary language and style. The "black" texts were African, rather than "Afro-American." The continual insistence by change agents on the racial, cultural, linguistic, and political similarities between PNG and Africa will be examined in Chapters Four and Five, but the tendency is readily apparent in these lists, which include only **African** black experience. In other words the works were chosen more for their colonial than their racial connection. The European texts are all chosen from literary movements that expressed otherness and disaffection.

On occasion a course called Australian Literature was offered. Its description from the 1971 calendar said in part:

> A course designed to show Australian attitudes to other people -- especially Australian Aboriginals and New Guineans -- as reflected in their literature, and response such attitudes have provoked among Aboriginals and New Guineans in their own emergent writing. (268)

On the next page of the same calendar the description of Modern World Literature II read:

> In this part [as opposed to Modern World Literature I] moral choice will be considered in more philosophical detail. From the expression of the 'primitive' in man, the rottenness of Western society as a whole will be considered leading to ideas of alienation, existentialism, and absurdism on behalf of individuals. (269)

C. *Kovave*

Ulli Beier's success in PNG rested as much on his ability to get writers published quickly as it did on his teaching of local talent. In order to give his creative writing students a publishing venue, Beier established *Kovave: A Magazine of New Guinea Literature*, whose pilot issue in 1969 Beier financed himself. There was no indigenous publishing in PNG, so Beier had then to look to Australia for financial assistance. Having successully attracted to *Kovave* advertisements from Australian publishers and having been favourably reviewed in Australian newspapers (See Chakravarti and Kais 40-41), Beier was able to secure Jacaranda as *Kovave*'s publisher. According to Beier, Jacaranda was happy to have *Kovave* as their "prestige publication" for just these reasons (Beier Letter, 1992). The journal appeared twice a year and lasted until 1975. Beier edited the journal until 3.2 (1971) when he turned the job over to John Kasaipwalova. Kasaipwalova edited one issue, and then editorship passed to Apisai Enos with 4.1 (1972). It remained with him until the journal's demise. Not only did Beier install his writers as editors of *Kovave*, but they were well represented on the Editorial Committee from the beginning. For the pilot issue, Beier chose three writers -- Vincent Eri, Rabbie Namaliu, and Leo Hannet -- along with Elton Brash and Jo Gray for the Committee. In 1971, all five Committee members were writers -- Soaba, Jawodimbari, Mapun, Saunana, and Enos. In 1972 the Committee changed only to allow Enos to move into the editor's chair. By 1975 the Committee consisted of Arthur Jawodimbari, John Saunana, Peter Kama Kerpi, and Nigel Krauth. Clearly the journal was indigenized, except for financing, from within two years of its inception.

Kovave was the first of the literary journals that defined itself as part of the university-based system. Beier felt the Literature Bureau's *NGW* was an inefficient journal; it had four full-time staff producing only two issues per year. Furthermore, he felt the quality was low since it served the needs of the Administration first, and the school system second. He did not see any possibility for his writers in the mission-based system. According to Beier missionaries were not interested in literature. In his view, *Kovave*, then, was the only literary outlet for writers in PNG. It was consciously elitist. It rarely published Literature Competition winners, unless the winners attended UPNG. The pilot issue of *Kovave* contained a derogatory essay by Beier about the quality of PNG writing before his arrival. "'Cautiously Advance Atomic Age': A Papuan Pilot Poet," discussed the work of self-taught Mekeo poet Allan Natachee. The term "pilot poets" was coined by J.P. Clark to describe the first generation of West African poets. What Beier meant by the term was an unskilled if well-meaning person, usually with social or political interests, but with no poetic imagination. "All emerging nations seem to throw up a few 'pilot poets' before genuine writers emerge" (40). Beier calls these writers "pathetic," caught between two worlds and able only to produce bad imitations of European poetry in awkward English. In a 1971 *Hudson Review* article, Beier called Natachee the type of "non-poet" who appealed to the "befores" -- Australians from PNG's pre-World War II colonial past.

Beier intended *Kovave* to serve as an experimental proving ground for whatever innovations the new writers might generate. It was also meant to serve as a meeting place for new writers. Each of the three literary spheres of influence in PNG established a literary journal. And each of the literary journals -- the Literature Bureau's *New Guinea Writing*, the mission-based *Precept*, and the university-based *Kovave* -- announced itself as the vehicle for writerly communication: *NGW* for the nation as a whole, *Precept* for the members of CWAMEL, and *Kovave*, as will become apparent, for predominantly male, predominantly political, university student writers.

Kovave was the name of the first initiation ceremony for young men among the tribe of Albert Maori Kiki's mother.[12] The ceremony did not convey full manhood, but did provide initiates with weapons and the right to fight. Did *Kovave* turn out to be such a weapon? Abiole Irele was not sure what *Kovave* was. In his 1974 *Transition* review of the journal, Irele noted its "disparate nature" and, allowing for Beier's stated editorial goal, was worried the journal might just become a "storehouse for exotica" (51). Certainly Beier intended the journal to be experimental, a vehicle through which writers would recover the oral, but also use their knowledge of the written to produce a hybrid, transitional art.

Unlike *(P)NGW*, *Kovave* was clear about the importance of genre, even if the labels did not always fit the contents. Each issue of approximately 60 pages included 10-12 examples of Poetry, 4-5 items of Prose, 2-3 items of Folklore, and 1 example of Drama. In most issues there was 1 entry under Art, 1 or 2 Reviews, and perhaps a piece of Criticism. *Kovave* did not contain the interviews with writers and artists which became the focal point of *PNGW* under Roger Boschman and Jack Lahui. Nor did it give advice about writing, conference or festival news as both *PNGW* and *Precept* had.

The generic tags in the Table of Contents were somewhat misleading and make the following analysis tricky, but they were at least **generally** indicative of editorial practices. To begin with, although there was a category for folklore, some of the Prose entries and nearly half of the Poetry entries were also folkloric: i.e., legends, anecdotes, incantations, songs, and so on. In only one issue, 4.2 (1973), was there a separate heading for Traditional and Modern Verse.[13] However, the titles alone in the Poetry section delineated the differences for the reader: e.g. "The Ballad of Roroviri," "Four Incantations," "Buin Songs." Otherwise, traditional verse generally appeared without author, or with the name of an anthropologist/ translator.

Prose was a grab-bag category containing legends and tales, a great deal of autobiography, stories idealizing village life, the odd essay, a handful of as-told-to life stories resulting from interviews Albert Maori Kiki had conducted with villagers, as well as short stories. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether the material was creative or traditional. The titles were not clear. For instance, "The Killing of Kara," was folkloric, but "The Old Man and the Balus" was not. This blending of the modern and folkloric in Poetry and Prose reflected Beier's interests in hybridization. It gives the reader pause, then, to see the category, Folklore. The preservation of the oral tradition was another of Beier's interests, but it was probably better served on his second tour (1974-48) when he became Director of IPNGS and established *Gigibori*, a journal dedicated to traditional culture.

The ambivalence of *Kovave* about oral culture became more clear over time and as editorial control passed to Kasaipwalova and Enos. Beier kept the folklore bunched together in each issue, with the other genres scattered amongst one another. Drama was always near the end of each issue, due to its length. With the change of editorship came a change in practice. Folklore was now integrated amongst the other genres. In 4.1 (1972) Enos wanted to insert two critical essays -- one by John Waiko and one by himself -- on the state of PNG literature. This was the first critical work from an islander to appear in the journal. Enos had an enlarged Poetry section that issue (over 20 pages) and the essays took up another 7 pages. If anything could be sacrificed it would be Folklore. In the next issue, Enos included Folklore once more, but only 6 pages of it and, in 5.1 (1975), only 2 pages. The same pattern occurs with Poetry. In the first four issues of *Kovave*, oral verse was equally balanced with modern creative verse. The last issue Beier edited contained no oral verse. Thereafter the traditional poetry appeared once for every 3 or 4 modern poems. What is more, only 6% of all *Kovave's* published material was written in Pidgin. The rest originated in English or was translated into English. There was no attempt (as with the Literature Bureau), to provide a bilingual magazine.

Certain biases towards genre are also evident in *Kovave*. Prose routinely occupies about 30% of the journal, Poetry 20%, Drama 18%, Folklore 10%, Art 6%, Criticism/ Reviews 6%. If Prose, Poetry, and Drama were the preferred genres, the UPNG writers did not avail themselves of those forms equally. Drama was written 100% by Beier's students. His writers were also responsible for 60% of the Prose entries, but only 25% of the verse. Goroka Teachers College (GTC) students were frequent contributors to the Prose category. The university poets had a publishing venue in PPP, both for oral collections and for modern verse.[14] Much of the verse in *Kovave* was gathered from GTC students, anthropologists, some from Literature Competition prize winners and others. Half of the Folklore contributions came from Beier's students as did half of the

Critical pieces. The Art pieces were all written by Beier, with one by his wife, Georgina. The reviews were all written by expats: 4 by Nigel Krauth, 1 by Ken Goodwin, 1 by Gerald Moore, and 1 by Ulli Beier.

Beier felt his students chose drama as their mode of militancy. "The autobiographical sketch, on the one hand, was mostly used to assert the counter values of village culture" (Introduction NL 3). These were the genres of power for the university-based system. Sharrad suggested other sociolinguistic causes for this predeliction. He noted in the drama a greater degree of linguistic experimentation and an "increased facility with metaphor" than in the short story. Sharrad attributed this tendency to the predominantly oral culture of PNG, where communal, participatory activities like drama were more socially acceptable than the isolatory acts of writing and reading:

> Plays...demand dialogue and require the playwright to be super-sensitive to the region and idiom of his characters. Although the influence of the radio, the theatre, traditional oral culture and the emphasis on collecting life-stories etc. have put the story into a framework wherein dialogue or first-person direct address are the most obvious common factors, the 'literary' mode of the English language and the context of written composition prevent a natural blend of register, tone, character and situation. The result is flat, discursive prose or has a 'schoolboy' stilted formality....(7)

D. Papua Pocket Poets

Chief among Beier's publishing accomplishments was the Papua Pocket Poets (PPP) series which he began in order to have some oral materials for his literature classes. The first three volumes were printed in London because Beier needed the materials printed cheaply. Thereafter he published the series in Port Moresby. PPP also provided a publishing venue for the poets from *Kovave* and from Beier's creative writing classes: Enos,[15] Tawali, Kasaipwalova, Jawodimbari, Iamo, Mapun, Kavop, Kama Kerpi. It included as well a volume of poetry by Chakravarti, 18 (1970), and one by Don Maynard, 21 (1971). Aside from Jack Lahui, the Literature Bureau and mission-based poets do not appear in PPP editions except for the crossover poets Enos, Tawali, Jawodimbari, Simet, Saunana, and Kavani.

The 46 volumes of PPP reflect the interests of its editors, Ulli Beier (vols. 1-25) and Prithvindra Chakravarti (vols. 26-46). Both men worked together from the beginning in the Department to encourage PNG poets and to broaden their knowledge of other oral traditions. The first three volumes printed in London, for example, were Maori, Malay and Yoruba texts. Beier followed these with Indonesian, Ibo, Bengali, and Biafran collections. But from the fifth volume to the twenty-fifth, the PPP series focussed almost exclusively on PNG poetry, whether modern or traditional. Traditional poetry in PPP was usually presented in both original and translation. When the compiler was an islander, he also had translated the poems. When the compiler was an *expat* (e.g. Murray Russell, Don Laycock, Elton Brash, Nigel Krauth, Judith Ainsworth) the texts were either in the original or an islander had translated them. As a whole Chakravarti's time with PPP featured not African, but Indian, poetry, in the first six volumes of his editorship. The rest of the series under Chakravarti was almost entirely Papua New Guinean.

The main difference between the editorships was that Chakravarti published mostly modern poetry (14 of the 17 PNG volumes). Beier published mostly traditional poetry (9 of the 12 PNG volumes). This disparity was likely due to the passage of time. By 1973, Chakravarti could concentrate on modern poetry because enough of it had been written by then. But, given the waning traditional content of *Kovave* by 1973, writers may simply have had other interests themselves. Under Beier, the only modern poets represented were Enos, and Tawali. Two of the volumes under Beier were collections of original Pidgin poems; only one under Chakravarti was in Pidgin. Chakravarti's editorship featured two collections of modern poetry and one collection of traditional. Of these collections, *Modern Poetry from Papua New Guinea*, 39 (1972), edited by Brash and Krauth, consisted of reprints from *Kovave*. The rest of the volumes were specific to individual ethnic groups. None of the collections of modern poetry was by a woman. As a whole the PPP collection remains the singlemost comprehensive source of printed verse from PNG, a testimony to the wealth of oral tradition and to the energy of its young writers.

E. Jacaranda Press and the Anthologies

Although Beier had originally used PPP as a teaching resource, the anthologies he began with *Five New Guinea Plays* (Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1971) were meant to create a certain look to PNG writing and to create an immediate off-shore readership for PNG writing. The anthology is the second in the Pacific Writers Series, which was established with Jacaranda with Beier as general editor when Eri's novel was published in 1969. Four of the plays in this first anthology came from Beier's creative writing classes: *Manki Masta* by Kumalau Tawali, *The Unexpected Hawk* by John Waiko, *The Ungrateful Daughter* by Leo Hannet, and *Cargo* by Arthur Jawodimbari. *Alive* was by Beier himself. The play by Waiko; *Alive*; and one other by Lovori [Beier], *They Never Return*, had all been performed in Canberra in 1969 by Prompt Theatre. The following spring *Cargo, Manki Masta*, and *Ungrateful Daughter* were performed by Prompt. Aside from Beier's plays, these plays had as their subject either culture clash, anti-colonialism, or generational disputes. They fairly reflect the generally polemical nature of the early plays.

The next year Jacaranda published the first collection of short stories from Beier's writers. Of the 13 short stories in *The Night Warrior and other Stories*, 8 came out of *Kovave* and one was reprinted from *Overland*. The stories followed the same themes as the plays. Beier ranged far and wide to obtain publications for PNG writing. In 1972 Sun Books of Melbourne published *Words of Paradise: Poetry of Papua New Guinea.* The collection, containing the work of 103 authors was published the next year in Santa Barbara. Collins in Sydney published *When the Moon was Big and other Legends from New Guinea* in 1972. Both these collections were edited by Ulli and illustrated by Georgina Beier. When two Australian publishers refused to publish a legend of the Gazelle Peninsula because it contained the word "fart," Beier took the book to Nigeria. He published it under the title *The Dance of the Birds* with Design Productions in Lagos as the first volume of their series, "Children's Tales from the Third (Black) World." According to Beier, it was subsequently "enjoyed by numerous children in Australia" (Beier 1978, 17).

In 1973 Beier published another PNG collection, *Black Writing from New Guinea*, this time with the University of Queensland Press' Asian and Pacific Writing series. Of the 29 selections by 18 authors, 5 were autobiographical pieces, 17 poems, 5 examples of short fiction, and 2 dramas. Only one autobiographical sketch, 2 poems, 1 story, and 1 play had not previously appeared in *Kovave* or in *Night Warrior* (3 in *NW*, 20 in *Kov.*, and 1 in PPP). Carl Harrison-Ford's 1973 review in the *Australian* noted the power of the autobiographical pieces. But he found the strength of the collection lay in the fiction and the verse, especially John Kasaipwalova's "Reluctant Flame," Lazarus Hwekmarin's "Man on the Moon," Meokoro Opa's "He Took the Broom from Me." These were the very pieces Beier had picked out for special mention in his introduction as representative either of a rare anti-colonial embitterment, or of a genuine cultural voice.

During his second period in PNG as director of the newly-formed IPNGS, Beier published *Niugini Lives* with Pacific Writers Series. By now a pattern to these anthologies was clearly visible. Of the 15 submissions by 14 authors, 6 had been previously published in *Kovave*. Two had originally appeared in the *Journal of Papua New Guinea Studies* and one in *New Guinea*. One was an extract from Kiki's autobiography. Two were older pieces collected by missionaries. The last Beier anthology, *Voices of Independence* (University of Queensland Press, 1980) followed the same pattern as the others in that it chose work from mostly the same group of writers, each of whom had up to 4 pieces included. But *VI* also introduced newer writers and enlarged the scope of the previous collections. For instance, it contained 6 essays, several of which described the relation between art and life as Kasaipwalova, Narokobi, and Waiko saw it. The drama section contained a play by Nora Vagi Brash, 2 plays by John Kolia and one by Albert Toro. In addition, the collection was prefaced by a well-balanced Beier essay on the previous 10 years of PNG literature.

As Paul Sharrad has pointed out that there is a kind of in-bred quality to the anthologies that was bound to form a particular product. The writers, editors and anthologizers of these texts were part of a very small community where everyone learned all the roles. Indeed it is the hallmark of pioneering ventures that all members of a community know one another and that all know how to perform all tasks. This is a matter of survival. Sharrad noted that in the anthologies, we saw Beier (*VI*) selecting from Beier (*BW*), selecting from Beier (*NW*), selecting from Beier (*Kov.*)(5).[16]

The writers themselves were from the generation born between 1941 and 1952 (mostly from 1949-52). Most had gone to UPNG or GTC together. Sharrad's 1984 survey of the publication history of their stories revealed that certain of them appeared consistently, forming the canon for short fiction in the university-based system: Kama Kerpi's "Cargo," Jawodimbari's "The Bird Calls," Opa's "He Took the Broom From Me," Soaba's "A Portrait of the Odd Man Out," Waiko's "The Old Man and the Balus," and Kaniku's "Growing up in Mailu" (1). The frenetic activity surrounding the Beier camp tended to cloud the fact that there were many other important change agents and activities involved in the university-based system. Some of these were concurrent with Beier; some were subsequent.

II. GOROKA TEACHERS COLLEGE: KATAHANAS, MURPHY, AND DEANE

Goroka Teachers College (GTC) was established in 1967 and differed from UPNG in a number of respects. Whereas UPNG's student population was 40% expat, many of whom were very involved in politics, GTC's student body was 100% indigenous and non-political. A comparison of UPNG's student magazine *Nilaidat* and GTC's *Tutuma* gives a clear indication of the differences in political stance. UPNG's campus, furthermore, is located just outside Port Moresby, the centre of political power. GTC is at Goroka, over the mountains in an interior plain. The Expressive Arts Department at GTC was established in 1967. According to Kirsty Powell's questionnaire survey of GTC graduates, "students in art, drama, and creative writing had a great sense of freedom in which artistic creativity flourished" (1979, 48).[17] Kirsty Powell lists the Goroka playwrights as John Kaniku, Turuk Wabei, Bonita Jill, Tiwekuri, Kambau Namaleu Lamang, and Joe Nidue -- the last of whom did not write until after leaving college.

The faculty of GTC in the late 1960s and early 1970s was outstanding. It included Elton Brash (who taught Literature and would later teach at UPNG), Norma Deane (who taught Creative Writing and who published in *Kovave*), Greg Murphy (who edited *Hey Now* and *O Mama*), Tom Craig (who later became the first director of CCA), and Greg Katahanas. Katahanas, who had taught in PNG since 1957, was especially successful in developing dramatists. Turuk Wabei felt that Katahanas' policy of trusting his actors and playwrights gave him the confidence he needed to succeed. In this aspect of his teaching, Katahanas resembled Beier. Their pioneering student-writers of the late 1960s needed to believe in themselves before they could create anything. Both teachers realized this and gave their students room, by suggesting rather than by specifying. Both men distrusted the notion of "teaching" art. In a 1972 conference paper Katahanas summed up his approach:

> Drama is only one of the spoken arts and spoken art is only one form of literary arts and literary arts is only one form of the arts -- which we appear to choose to call expressive arts. The expressive arts cannot be taught and so by deduction drama cannot be taught either. The very word drama means "do" or "something done." The basic purpose in the literary activity of writing a play is to eventually have it "done" (Katahanas in Brash and Greicus 56).

In one area, though, Beier and Katahanas differed a great deal. Katahanas was not interested in publishing to the extent that Beier was. Nor did he have a cultural agenda that fed on other colonial experiences. He was simply interested in "doing" drama. Katahanas taught drama full-time until he left PNG in

1975. He established *Theatre Six* at Goroka Teachers College in 1967 as a means of providing his actors and playwrights with a performing venue. The money for the conventional indoor proscenium theatre was raised entirely by the College Players. In 1973, the Players opened *Theatre K7*, an open air theatre. Katahanas was proud of this achievement and listed on the programme for the last play of the 1973 season the credits of the College Players since 1967:

> a total of 43 plays, 7 plays were written by Goroka Teachers College students, 2 plays were written by University of Papua New Guinea students, 26 of these plays were world premieres, 4 plays were in Pidgin English, 7 plays were full programme plays while 36 were one act plays, 3 plays were of Mexican origin and 4 were of African origin. (Programme Notes. *A Tropical Summer Nights Dream* 1973)

Katahanas did not therefore limit his productions to PNG plays. He felt that his students needed exposure to world drama. Consequently, he produced plays by Shakespeare, Sophocles, Tutuola, Soyinka, and others. Some of the plays he wrote himself. Others were PNG premieres of the work of student-playwrights: John Kaniku's *Cry of the Cassowary* and Turuk Wabei's *Kulubob* were two of these.

The dramatic output of GTC was extraordinary, at least four productions each year, far more than any other organization at the time. GTC had created the same sort of self-sufficient atmosphere that existed at UPNG. But the activity was diversified among change agents. Creative writing students of Norma Deane's class might submit a short dramatic exercise which she would encourage them to expand to a one-act play.

The existence of *Theatre Six* meant that the play could be workshopped before publication. Or acting students of Greg Katahanas' might be encouraged to write their ideas down, and then turn to Deane for editorial guidance.

By chance a Heinemann representative passed through Goroka and took *Cry of the Cassowary* and *Kulubob* for publication in 1969. But Katahanas did not avail himself of the opportunity to work with an Australian publisher as Beier had. Therefore his students did not enjoy the same publication history as UPNG students.[18] What Katahanas did establish was the Pacific Playhouse Series, a collection of mimeographed plays that witnessed the fertile ground for drama at GTC. By 1973, the Series could boast 18 titles, most of which were Pidgin adaptations Katahanas had made of European drama. Katahanas had had great success with such adaptations in high schools in the late 1950s and obviously had in mind for his future student-playwrights a reservoir of both indigenous and adapted foreign works for their own classroom use.

Katahanas had taken his theatre to as many villages, schools, and colleges as possible in PNG in his bid to reach the "educated" audiences. He had no message except drama. Powell found this readily apparent in the a-political nature of the GTC plays. According to Powell, the students were simply not aware of their bonds with the rest of the Third World. Their plays were pre-occupied (as were the creative writings of Glen Bays' students) with themes of culture clash, but not with anti-colonialism.[19]

The connections between GTC and UPNG were certainly stronger than between UPNG and the Literature Bureau or CTC. Because GTC was administratively part of the university, many students looked to the Literature Department as a possible publication venue. Norma Deane herself contributed some folklore to *Kovave* in 1971 and encouraged her students to use the journal as well. Creative writing students made collective poetry contributions to *Kovave* in 1.2 (1970) and in 5.1 (1975).[20] Individually, several GTC students submitted to the journal as well. Wauru Degoba, one of Beier's protégés, was a GTC student, as was Bernard Dalle, Wiwa Korowi, and Henginike Riyong. Ironically, the only GTC publications to appear in the Chakravarti and Kais bibliography or in the Krauth bibliography was *Two New Guinea Plays*, the Heinemann book. In other words, the university would accept certain GTC material and reject the rest, according to its own interests. Another indication that the GTC-UPNG connection was a loose one is that GTC students also submitted manuscripts to *PNGW*. Unlike the politically conscious UPNG students, GTC writers felt at home with the Literature Bureau publications unless, as Greg Murphy so eloquently complained on behalf of Hengenike Riyong, their work had been hacked to bits by its editors.

Norma Deane was succeeded by Greg Murphy who established *Hey Now*, in 1973, with the printing funded by UNESCO. The first volume of the series was *Contemporary Poems Mostly in English*. Murphy hoped to follow the volume up with another in Pidgin. He was careful to note that the poems might draw on traditional knowledge, but that they arose from "current concerns of contemporary students." The contrast to the philosophy of other change agents -- one of plumbing the depths of oral culture -- is quite clear. The poems in *Hey Now,* "do not take part in the business of preserving the property of the past, of channelling creativity into the making of museums" (Introduction. *Hey Now* 3). Indeed, the collection is full of "Now-ness": love poems, poems of self-examination, of contemporary life, etc. The next year, *Hey Now* published *O Mama*, a combination of English and Pidgin poems. Murphy had been unable to get enough Pidgin material together for a separate volume and the Pidgin poems in this volume occupied only one section in four. The other three sections offered contemporary poems on current issues, village experience, and on spiritual life. The editor was delighted with the improvement in quality from volume one. The language of both volumes, in his view was original, often combining idioms and certainly not following the rules of English strictly.[21]

The Teachers College at Goroka was instrumental in publishing a number of collections of folklore. In 1972 Mark Arek compiled *Eleven Long Legends*. The same year the College published *Ten Tall Tales*. And in 1973 *Ukum Amek and other Stories* by Johnson Vunagi and others appeared. What strikes the reader about these collections is that, like much of the product from Sogeri, the writing has been included as a link between the illustrations. The early interest of Norma Deane in folklore and Greg Murphy in contemporary writing plus the enthusiasm of the whole *expat* staff at Goroka provided a unique and extremely productive atmosphere that included anyone who was interested. This environment not only encouraged women, but provided a holistic practice that routinely included woodcuts and illustrations in *every* literary production. Unlike the Beier productions whose artwork was mostly supplied by Georgina Beier, GTC publications featured work by students. So integrated was the work of Expressive Arts Departments in PNG that a great many of the writers were visual artists and/or actors as well. GTC playwright Kambau Namaleu Lamang, for instance, illustrated several of the PPP books. Russell Soaba began as an artist and provided all the illustrations for his collection *Naked Thoughts*. Apisai Enos illustrated all three of his *Flying Fox* Poster Series.

GTC exhibited, then, a certain ambivalence towards the university-based system by keeping its options open to the Literature Bureau and the CCA. Katahanas and Murphy found it necessary to publicly target the two salient features of the university-based system: political commitment and cultural regeneration in an effort to legitimize GTC activities. Norma Deane and Elton Brash, on the other hand, found no difficulty in establishing links with UPNG. By maintaining self-sufficiency in the four actant roles and by establishing flexible and diverse institutional linkages, the GTC was able to function in a volatile political climate.

III. THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT: LIYONG AND CHAKRAVARTI

Even within the Literature Department itself one can discern rather startling differences of approach and effect. A good case in point is that of Glyn Davis, a New Zealander who taught the Preliminary English Course in 1968, and for some years afterward worked at the Department. Davis used writing as an exercise for the course and was able to publish four typescript volumes of a series he called *New New Guinea Writing*. Each volume was a collection of 4 or 5 examples of a particular genre: story, traditional story, essay, or play. The collections had the look and feel of mission-based or Literature Bureau publications. Extensive biographical paragraphs were provided for each contributor. The writers themselves had no specific literary formation; all were studying science or medicine. They were using writing to try out their composition or language acquisition skills. Their subjects are oral culture, autobiography, and contemporary social problems. Although the series contained drama, there was no militancy in the texts.

NNGW was produced at the same time as Beier was coaching Kiki and Eri through their work, but before the teaching of creative writing and the African literature courses had exposed students to anti-colonial literature. The contrast to Kasaipwalova and Hannet, for example, is quite striking. Even Kiki's and Eri's work, the product of adults already matured under colonialism and finished (or nearly so) their education before Beier's arrival, did not display the bias of later work. Even though *NNGW* was produced by the Literature Department, the uncommitted nature of its writings has affected its position in the PNG literary canon. That is, *NNGW* is out of it. Neither Chakravarti and Kais (1974), nor Krauth (1978a) have included any mention of *NNGW* in their bibliographies.[22] And it was these two bibliographies that dominated in the formation of the canon. Both Chakravarti and Krauth were highly respected as teachers, critics, and editors. The other major bibliography for PNG writing, Nancy Lutton's *Creative Writing Index, 1968-74*, did include *NNGW* and mission-based publications. Lutton, Head of the New Guinea Collection at UPNG Library, took the neutral stance of a librarian in gathering up **all** writing. The interesting thing is that Chakravarti and Kais' bibliography was seen as incorporating and expanding Lutton, which is patently not the case. There was, then, an inner circle to the university-based system which consciously excluded those elements it saw as inimical to its programmes.[23]

From the Department's inception each of the Departmental Chairs has had a vision for literature in PNG. But some Chairs and Senior Lecturers have had more effect on literature than others. Ulli Beier, Elton Brash, Taban lo Liyong, and Prithvindra Chakravarti will serve as examples of how the programme links of the university-based system waxed and waned according to the interests of individual change agents. When Beier arrived, Elton Brash was teaching at Goroka. Beier served on the examining committee for Brash's thesis on Soyinka. Then, after a short time in Nigeria, Brash joined the Literature Department at UPNG. Brash's interests lay more in the teaching of English in developing countries. He was also a crossover artist: whenever there was a project that involved co-operation amongst university or government departments, or between institutions of the literary system, Elton Brash's name consistently appeared. Although Brash has come and gone from PNG, his marriage to islander playwright Nora Vagi has meant a continuing connection to PNG literature.

Taban lo Liyong, Chair from 1975-77, was brought to PNG by Beier. His experiences with the inception of East African literature seemed analogous and applicable to the newly-forming literature in PNG. Liyong brought an energetic challenge to the generally conservative literary scene, but was less successful in working change than the others had been. Prithvindra Chakravarti arrived at UPNG in 1967, the same year as Beier. Both Beier and Chakravarti were interested in folklore and emerging literatures. In the end, of this group of change agents, Chakravarti has probably had the largest part in the literary formation of UPNG students over the years. Chakravarti was the agent who stayed. He remained active and in the Department as teacher, bibliographer, and editor for 20 years until he left in 1986 for China.

Elton Brash participated in school visitations, which were part of the Literature Department's co-operation with the Department of Education. Such close co-operation with Education was seen as necessary to the Department's survival. Literature could only flower in PNG if it were instituted in the schools. Brash's involvement with agencies outside UPNG strengthened ties with the CCA in particular. Elizabeth Aune remarked that Brash had come to encourage her students to sing and translate children's songs from their own languages. Once collected, these songs might find their way into PPP collections like *Dragon Tree* and *Warbat*. The links were thus being forged to feed UPNG's publication efforts. Brash's concern with oral heritage and with the teaching of literature in schools resulted in the first conference on Teaching Literature in Papua New Guinea. The Literature Department and the Secondary Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education co-operated in 1972 to discuss the current state of literature teaching and what might improve it. The conference papers, edited by Brash and colleague Mike Greicus, revealed that professionals at all levels of literary education felt it was high time for Literature to become a subject in schools and for PNG literature (especially in Pidgins, vernaculars and New Guinea English) to be taught as well. Although these two suggestions fell on deaf political ears, the conference papers do reveal the disparity in PNG schools: from Elizabeth Aune, an Australian who taught Creative Writing, African literature and PNG literature; to those who taught English following the Australian syllabus, which included *Pygmalion* and *A Tale of Two Cities*.

As a result of this conference, the English Department, *PNGW*, and the CCA collaborated with the Department of Education to publish at CCA, in 1973, a collection of eleven stories suitable for secondary schools. *Niugini Stories* was edited by Greicus and Brash. Five of the stories were culled from the pages of *PNGW* and one from *Australian Territories Magazine*, 4.3 (1964). The rest of the stories and legends were written by CCA and UPNG writers. "The collection, we feel, is a fair [my emphasis] representation of the breadth of talent now rising in the country" (Preface). The writers represented SIL workers, UPNG students, former GTC students, *Kovave* writers, and Literature Competition winners, and so on. Like many other CCA publications, *NS* also gave opportunity to illustrators John Danger and Jimmy John.

Elton Brash was able to capitalize on Beier's successes with Jacaranda when it established Niugini Press in PNG. Brash edited the Niugini Folklore Series for them. In 1973, Brash translated from Hiri Motu and edited *Orokolo Genesis* (as told by Morea Pokoro). In 1973, Niugini Press published the PPP collection *Tiang Kuspini*, edited by Judith Ainsworth and translated by Winifred Pakalmat Tare Taufi. The next year Niugini Press published *Enga Stories*. In two of these collections, Brash was choosing from Brash. The *Tiang* and *Enga* volumes had been PPP projects while Brash was an associate editor under Chakravarti.

A. The Third South Pacific Festival of the Arts

While Elton Brash busied himself with constructing programme links for the system, Taban lo Liyong was more concerned with the issue of whether writing could become a profession in PNG. Although Liyong was active in the system as Literature Competition judge, teacher, and general animator, the role he is best remembered for was as Conference organizer of the 1976 Writers Seminar. Although the numbers of creative writing students rose and fell dramatically with the times and although the Department's ability to publish creative writing was limited, it was able consistently to fulfill another function in PNG literary life -- organizing or sending representation to festivals and conferences.

In 1971, the first New Guinea Arts Festival had generated several of the poems that later appeared in PPP 30, *Modern Poetry from Papua New Guinea* (eds. Brash and Krauth). Arthur Jawodimbari had attended the 1974 first World Black and African Festival of Arts and Cultures (FESTAC), in Sénégal. Along with government officials, he was to attend the second Festival in 1976 with writers Siuras Kavani, Apisai Enos, John Kaniku, Jack Lahui, Sally Anne Pipi, Nora Brash, and others. Benjamin Umba, Kumalau Tawali, and John Kasaipwalova had attended the first conference of SPACLALS in 1977 at the University of Queensland. A new generation of writers participated in these activities as well. Regis Stella and others would attend the 1984 Pacific Writers Meeting in Suva. Two years later, Ben Nakin and Steve Winduo attended the first World Black Literature Conference in Brisbane. All these writers were well connected to the various spheres of black, South Pacific and Third World writing, the conferences and festivals, to say nothing of UNESCO workshops, meetings of PEN, study leaves abroad, and so on.

At the root of all these linkages was the Literature Department. And on at least two occasions, this aspect of its programmes was substantially important at home in PNG. In 1976, Taban lo Liyong organized the first PNG Writers Seminar for July 1-4. This seminar was one of several rather desperate attempts by Liyong to revive what seemed to be a moribund literary scene. His rationale was to get PNG writers together to discuss issues like copyright and school curriculum and to organize a self-help organization, a union of writers. He invited several established writers to the Seminar for moral support and guidance. Albert Wendt, Hone Tuwhare, Kath Walker, and Edwin Thumboo came from the South Pacific region; Kole Omotoso, Okot p'Bitek, and Theo Luzaka from Africa.

The presentations at the Seminar were recorded because they were meant to be published, but this never happened. The Seminar papers demonstrated a broad range of concerns: from literary history (Arthur Jawodimbari "Mobile Theatre"; Kumalau Tawali "Recent Papua New Guinean Poetry"; Peter Trist "Development of Radio Plays"), to style (John Kasaipwalova "Language of New Guinea Poetry"; Russell Soaba "My Experience with Style"), to questions of audience (Elton Brash "Literature and Drama in School"; William Takaku "Writing Plays for Children"), to the role of the writer (Bernard Narokobi "Melanesian Way and the Writers"). What they don't exhibit is **anger**. Liyong knew, as many people did, that a key ingredient in most post-colonial writing was indigenous backlash. Ken Goodwin, who attended the Seminar, was enthralled by Liyong's constant, yet controlled attempts to elicit this response in the writers. Not that militant anti-colonial writing was the goal. Liyong wanted to stir writers from what he perceived as apathy.

On the first day of the Seminar, Liyong published an essay in the *Post-Courier* recounting the days of the Apostles and the Bulls; i.e., the first group of writers and student-politicians at UPNG and the Administrative College. He noted that, with Independence, had come the end of the age of protest. Now writers should work on the craft of writing, improve their use of language, master technique. Liyong saw the Seminar as a reunion of the Bulls and Apostles. The time had come, Liyong wrote, to "chart a way forward from protest literature, the retelling of folktales, and emasculated stories for school readers" (Goodwin 170).

Liyong was countered by John Kasaipwalova in an article urging writers to commit to the Government's 8 Point Plan.[24] Hardly a programme for revolution. Other writers chose to talk about their own interests: copyright problems, self-help community work; and so on. Only Ulli Beier, the other central change agent present, chose to take up Liyong's challenge. Beier said that the early writers were not protesting, nor was the writing of the 1960s and 1970s a juvenile phase of PNG literature. The first writers, he claimed, wrote to survive within colonization. Beier regretted that writers had not continued to take up contemporary political matters: "Are there already...sacred cows that we are afraid to slaughter?" (Goodwin 171). Although Liyong failed in many senses to accomplish his goals, the 1976 Writers Seminar provided an opportunity for writers to assess their situation. Liyong was enthusiastic. Recommendations from the Seminar were that it be held every two years and continue to be organized by the Literature Department. There was even the hope that the Seminar could become a South Pacific regional event. In this best of all possible worlds, Australian Cultural Exchange Funds could be solicited. The New Zealand government could be asked to sponsor two writers to each Seminar. The NCC could budget the Seminar as a means of promoting creative writing and drama. Part of its sponsorship could pay for writers to do extension work in rural areas. One of the most interesting recommendations was to encourage publishers to mount literary prizes (with the Literature Department as judge). In this way perhaps publishers might actually take part in the literary system on a continuing basis. In an indirect rebuke of the absence of literature in the school curriculum, the Education Department was urged to sponsor teachers of English and Literature to future Seminars. Finally, funding was to be sought for a full-time co-ordinator for the new Writers Union.

The Literature Department was trying to write itself into practical and publicly visible activities. Behind this aggressive posturing was the very real possibility that the university would abolish the Arts Faculty altogether (Rudd 41; Beier 1980b, xiii). Of course, nothing came of it all. Liyong left PNG the next year. Prithvindra Chakravarti stayed to become Chair in his stead.

Most of the speakers at the 1976 Writers Seminar were first generation PNG writers, the majority of whom had left university to enter public life. In some respects the Seminar was flogging a dead horse. Yet younger writers were attending and deciding on appropriate action. When the Literature Department secured the third South Pacific Festival of the Arts (SPFA) in 1980, those younger writers leapt at the opportunity provided. In March of 1979, the Department had decided to organize the Literature Section of the Festival into activities prior to and during the Festival. Of interest to young writers was the Department's plan to raise a special fund to publish some of the creative material in its Archives as well as to solicit new material.

The sum of K4,050 had been secured from the NCC, the UPNG Publications Committee, and from the Literature Trust Fund (a memorial to Kirsty Powell). The plan was to publish a novel (Russell Soaba's *Maiba* had been selected), a series of poster poems (to be called Ondobondo Poster Poems),[25] some new titles in PPP, and a collection of short stories. In addition the Department wanted to produce some new plays. Almost immediately, though, it ran into financial difficulties. *Maiba* was K250 over-budget. Only 12 of the planned 16 poster poems could be published because of rising production costs. All other publications were being held in abeyance until funds could be located (Chakravarti 1980, 21-24).

Although not all activities surrounding the Festival were successful, the Literature Department was invigorated by its organizational work. In his Festival report, Prithvindra Chakravarti wasted no words in laying blame for the moribund state of the arts in the country:

> Creative writing ought to be treated at par with other forms of art. It should be realized that writers are as important as artists, musicians and performers in making a lasting contribution to the understanding and appreciation of Papua New Guinea culture. It is high time that the NCC and the National Government did something positive in the form of a permanent body in a National Literature Board -- that could ensure the encouragement and publication of Papua New Guinea national literature on a sound footing. (Chakravarti 1980, 27)

Chakravarti finished by urging the SPFA Committee to lobby the PNG government on behalf of literature. A Literature Board was eventually formed in the late 1980s but without teeth and without money. It simply carried on the work of the Literature Bureau in running the National Literature Competitions.

As disappointing as the project had been, the Festival did serve as a springboard for new writing in the eventual establishment of *Ondobondo* and the PNG Writers Union.

B. *Ondobondo*

Prithvindra Chakravarti's energy and commitment to PNG literature ran as a leitmotif through the first twenty years. Chakravarti was largely responsible for the strength of PNG writing in the 1980s. His chairmanship of the Department, from 1977 to 1984, under increasingly impossible restrictions was nevertheless characterized by a resurgence in creative writing.[26] After Independence, writing had languished from a lack of purpose. *Kovave* stopped publication in 1975 and *PNGW* in 1978. By the early 1980s, CCA (now NAS) had ceased to be a force for publication. The IPNGS had provided a narrow outlet for writing in its cultural journal, *Gigibori*. What this meant was that from 1978 to the establishment of *Ondobondo* in 1982, there were no local literary journals at all.

Although some established authors were still writing and able to find publishers, the new generation of the early 1980s needed to create their own publishing opportunities. When the third SPFA was held in PNG, one of the activities organized by the Literature Department was publication of the 16 Ondobondo Poster Poems. Twelve of the poems appeared before the Festival. The poetry represented the work of new writers (with the exception of Russell Soaba). Chakravarti was convinced that there was hope in trying to organize these writers in some way. Accordingly he arranged a night of recitals on April 21, 1982. The only established writers to attend were Nora Vagi Brash, Ignatius Kilage, and Teloti Kaniku. But there was enough interest from others to start the Ondobondo Club, which began to meet once each month with 25-30 people attending. Some of the first writers involved with Ondobondo were Cathy Natera, Loujaya Kouza, William Ferea, Samson Ngwele, and Russell Soaba (Kouza 29-30).

Money made available through the Kirsty Powell Memorial Fund was used to start another literary journal. *Ondobondo*'s first issue appeared in 1982; the journal was published twice each year until 1987 when the fund was depleted. It had survived Chakravarti's departure by one year. *Ondobondo* was meant as a forum for young writers:

> The editors seek to make it fresh without being light weight, original without being clever, and Melanesian without looking like every other literary magazine in this part of the world. (Editorial 1[1982])

Ondobondo was about 30 pages long. It carried a balance of stories, poems, book reviews, plays, and excerpts from novels. In fact it remains the largest single published source in PNG's literary history of excerpts from unpublished novels. *Ondobondo*'s reviews were (with the exception of Joseph Sukwianomb's African reviews) mostly of local writing. The journal thus served as the first instance in the history of PNG literary magazines of indigenous criticism of indigenous writing. *Ondobondo* was an interesting journal for another reason as well. It succeeded in attracting female writers -- Loujaya Kouza, Joyce Kumbeli, Nora Vagi Brash -- who contributed regularly to the journal throughout its lifetime.

Members of the Literature Department all took turns editing the journal, or in serving on the Board: Prithvindra Chakravarti, Ganga Powell, Alan Chatterton, Pat Hardy, Russell Soaba, Bernard Minol. But *Ondobondo* took its role as the country's only literary magazine seriously. The Board and the contributors represented UPNG writers, GTC people, *PNGW* writers and staff, several writers who published with or worked for mission institutions, and writers with no affiliation to any institution at all. Arthur Jawodimbari and John Kasaipwalova were there, but so were Greg Murphy, Kumalau Tawali, Benjamin Umba, Jack Lahui, and May Amo. Ben Nakin published with *Ondobondo*, the *Times*, and *New Nation*. One of *Ondobondo*'s contributors was editor of the *Niugini Lutheran*; another worked for *Wantok*. The artwork was provided by NAS. Thus *Ondobondo* was the first major literary magazine in the country which successfully bridged all three institutional camps. And this balance showed in the content of the creative pieces contained within its pages. They dealt with change and culture clash; they wove oral narrative into written; they examined the relationship between urban and rural life; and they mused over personal relationships. They were not polemical; they avoided folklore. They were primarily concerned with contemporary Melanesian life seen from the inside. The hand of the *expat* is rarely visible.

Even though Chakravarti hoped the Department could expand its publishing ventures with Books Ondobondo and, later, under the "Owl" imprint, it was unable to garner the funds to achieve its goals (Chakravarti 1980, 27-28). Occasionally, though, it managed to complete a project. A fine example of this effort was *Poems* by Benjamin Nakin (Literature Department 1982), edited by Kevin D'Arcy. In the third issue of *Ondobondo* (1983-84), the editorial was unsure as to whether the journal could survive the impending staff cuts. The Literature Department had been slashed to two people. This action was the culmination of a decade of deteriorating governmental support for literature. Chakravarti left two years later, in 1986. With his resignation ended two decades of literary decolonization in PNG.

IV. SUMMARY

The illusion of an indigenous literary system in PNG is strongest in the functional links established among various institutions during decolonization. Programmes are highly visible. However, their presence can be deceptive. They may imply a permanence which is in fact quite ephemeral. In PNG, both the university-based and mission-based systems relied on ad hoc, often entailed, funding or on funding from off-shore agencies. Leadership was temporary and not indigenous. Yet leaders operated with such autonomy that funding and most other linkages tended to depend on their unique presence. As a consequence, each time a central change agent went *finish*, a programme usually failed.

Since programmes rose and fell with this kind of sponsorship, the exchange relations among institutions relied heavily on personal relationships. If the personal dynamics of an organization changed, its entire set of exchange relations often changed as well. The differences in programme thrust at the Literature Bureau under each of its three directors is a notable example. Change agents who were fulfilling several actant positions were not the only players to affect the systems in this way. The network of personal relations in PNG's literary life was critical because of the age and size of the system and because of its lack of diffusion. The alliances, cabals, participation, or retirement of any individual therefore significantly altered the institutional landscape in ways that would barely be noticed in systems that had become institutionalized.

The competitive nature of the two shadow systems is as interesting structurally as it is ideologically. In their initial weak state, the two systems not only avoided contact with each other, they established a nearly mirror-like set of institutions. Each system served a particular ideological field and should therefore have been self-contained. However, each system was weak enough to require the services of a mediating agency (the Government) to provide crucial functions at different times. But the competing systems did not avail themselves of those functions equally; this strategy allowed them to maintain their independence, the one from the other. The mission-based system, for example, made much fuller use of the Literature Bureau than did the university-based system. On the other hand, the university system worked much more closely with CCA and IPNGS than did the mission system.

The continuing weakness of each shadow system meant that their functional links were always contingent. Long-term planning and stability for programmes was therefore impossible. Nor were the shadow systems ever able to attain enough autonomy to enter into supportive inter-systemic relations with one another. Their individual existence relied on their continuing aversion to each other and on their differing clientele. The university-based system employed its resources in the services of high literature aimed at an educated audience. Its goal was the professionalized writer of creative literature who would serve as a model for the intellectual life of the country. Its programmes were therefore restricted to the newly-educated elite, a resource that was already stretched to the limit by the many demands placed on it by other sectors of society. As the untenable position of an elite literature became obvious, some attempts were made by the university system to re-define its original aims. However, it was largely as unsuccessful in that re-definition as it was in re-shaping its functional links with other institutions. The university system thus isolated its own institutions more often than it secured them.

The mission-based system maintained its distinct character by adopting a populist stance. As the potential reservoir for all writing outside the university, its programmes were, with one exception, aimed at a general entry-level audience. Mission system programmes concentrated therefore on literacy training, and on writing as a tool for personal and communal development. If a mission-based writer wished to become a professional creative writer, it was from time to time necessary for that writer to cross over to those structures in place at the university or, at the very least, to make use of the services of a government mediating agency. The exception to this was the professionalization of the non-fiction writer. The mission-based system, in its concern for Christian communication, provided the necessary programmes to prepare its writers for journalism. Tertiary institutions throughout the country, including UPNG, supported this work with further training. Newspapers in the capital and in every province supplied employment.[27]

NOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1. Unless otherwise noted, the references to Ulli Beier are derived from personal correspondance with Mr. Beier in May 1992. For a full picture of Ulli Beier's contributions to Nigerian literature, consult works by Wren and Benson.

2. The chief means of pairing was through a course called Sector Analysis, offered by Andras Balint. Students were expected to use English language prose, poetry, and drama to analyze parts of speech and grammar. Then they were to apply these techniques to "selected specimens of prose in their own mother tongue" (UPNG Calendar 1969, 146). In essence, it was a similar strategy to studying English literature in order to understand what literature is and then applying the critical terms and concepts of English literature to PNG literature. Beier says he could never see the point to it and neither could the students.

3. Chakravarti and Kais cite 16 German reviews alone in 1968 and 1969 as well as a 1969 German translation. There were 19 Australian reviews in the same period as well as reviews in the UK and the USA.

4. In Australia, Eri's novel received attention equal to that previously given to Kiki's work: 17 reviews are recorded in Chakravarti and Kais. There are no German reviews or translations. It would be interesting to know why. I have asked Beier if he generated the German activity on Kiki's book, but he says not. It is curious that the first PNG novel, coming only a year after the first PNG autobiography, generated no European interest.

5. See Kiki *Hohao* (164) for the genesis of this pseudonym and see Benson for the series of pseudonyms Beier used in Africa, mainly as a reviewer of African texts.

6. Arthur Jawodimbari's *The Old Man's Reward* was based on Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal*.

7. In 1978, Beier himself considered this play by Jawodimbari to be the best play so far produced by a PNG writer. In his opinion the other plays were already dated in their narrow concern with polemics (Beier 1978, 18).

8. Irele was one of the Nigerians most closely associated with Beier in the production of *Black Orpheus* and in the running of Mbari publications. When Beier left Nigeria, Irele and J.P. Clark took over the editorship of the journal. Irele has stated that his perspective on African literature was shaped by *Black Orpheus*. (See Irele in Benson and in Wren for a fuller account of this involvement.)

9. This approach matches that of his extra-mural teaching in Nigeria. In the 1950s, there were no Nigerian texts available save Tutuola and later Achebe. Beier collected myths, epics, and poems. He translated Yoruba praise songs, incantations and ballads. In addition, he taught Black Literatures, in particular that of francophone West African writers. He translated "Senghor and David Diop, Rabearivelo and some Caribbean writers like Césaire" (Krausman 73). Molly Mahood remembers that Beier began to work with young writers like Gabriel Okara, and would bring their work to class (Qtd. in Wren 40).

10. This whirlwind activity tended to foreground work that might otherwise not have been published. Writers were often surprised to find themselves in print. Russell Soaba has questioned whether Beier's emphasis on quantity, not quality, arrested the real growth of PNG literature. Writers were caught in the revolving door of production and publication with no time to think about what PNG writing really was (K. Powell 1979, 47 n.1).

11. I have reviewed the UPNG calendars from 1968 to 1989 and have found that the pattern has remained more or less constant.

12. These were the people for whom Beier was the ghost of Kiki's dead brother, Lovori.

13. This was under Enos' editorship and probably reflects the work he was doing with PPP. With Vol. 26 (1972) the

editorship of PPP had passed to Prithvindra Chakravarti, who had as associate editors, Elton Brash and Apisai Enos. In 1972 they published Vol. 30 *Modern Poetry from PNG*, and the next year, *Traditional Poems, Chants, and Songs from PNG*. Much of this material was culled from *Kovave*. Of the 23 poems in *Modern Poetry*, 15 were from Enos, Tawali, and Kale, three of the mainstays of *Kovave*'s Poetry section.

14. The Papua Pocket Poet series provided the first group of Beier protégés with frequent publishing and editing opportunites. Leo Hannet published *Wiliwil* 17 (1970); Kumalau Tawali published *Signs in the Sky* 19 (1970), *Nansei* 22 (1971); Apisai Enos published *Warbat* 23 (1971), *High Water* 24 (1971), *Tabapot* 46 (1975); John Saunana *Cruising Through the Reverie* 32 (1973), *Dragon Tree* 25 (1971), *She* 35 (1973); John Kasaipwalova *Reluctant Flame* 29 (1972), *Hanuabada* 31 (1972); Jacob Simet and Siuras Kavani *Bastard* 34 (1973); Arthur Jawodimbari and Dus Mapun *Wicked Eye* 36 (1973), *Return to My Land* 41 (1974); and Peter Kama Kerpi *Call of the Midnight Bird* 37 (1973). Writers whose work also appeared in *(P)NGW* like Jack Lahui, Henginike Riyong, Kundapen Talyagen, and Gapi Iamo each had a PPP volume to their credit as well.

15. Apisai Enos has always managed to create alternate venues for his own work. He instituted the Flying Fox Poem Series (which he edited himself) on scrolls in English and Pidgin. He illustrated the three poems that appeared: "A Bird Sings," "Black Box," "Two-Headed Crocodile" (Chakravarti and Kais 1). His cassette readings of poems for children published within the mission system has already been noted in Chapter Two.

16. Sharrad implied how limiting this practice became when others in turn constructed anthologies. Albert Wendt, in editing *Lali* in 1980, chose all his PNG pieces from *BW* and *Kov* (5). Norman Simms, in his recent *Writers from the South Pacific* generally included only the poems and stories that had been published in anthologies, leaving aside the vast majority of texts that have appeared in periodicals. One could easily gain the impression that Beier's writers were all there was of PNG writing, or all that was good of PNG writing.

A recent anthology of poems, short fiction and drama compiled by Ganga Powell (the first woman in PNG to produce such an anthology), manages to break free from the tracks of Ulli Beier. *Through Melanesian Eyes* (Melbourne: Macmillan 1987) has the advantage of history, in that Powell could also choose from *PNG Writer* and *Ondobondo*. Yet everything in this fine anthology speaks of the university-based system. None of the mission-based publications are represented, although several crossover writers like Lahui, Jawodimbari, Tawali, and Narokobi are. Furthermore, a healthy representation of the older Beier-canonized texts are included: Jawodimbari's *The Sun*; an extract from Kiki's and Somare's autobiographies; Waiko's *Unexpected Hawk*; Tawali's *The Bush Kanaka Speaks*; Kasaipwalova's "Betel-Nut is Bad Magic for Aeroplanes," and so on.

However PNG's literary canon eventually shapes up, it is clear from Powell's selections that women now must be included. The poetry of Joyce Kumbeli, Loujaya Kouza, Mary Toliman, and Lynda Thomas is prominent, along with work by playwright Nora Vagi Brash.

17. Unless otherwise stated this description of GTC's drama programme is taken from Kirsty Powell's thesis (48-52), the best document extant concerning the entire drama scene in PNG to about the mid 1970s.

18. This disparity is especially clear in Kirsty Powell's 1979 study. Of the 26 GTC plays she mentions, only 3 were published. Yet of the 21 UPNG plays, 10 saw print in *Kovave, Five New Guinea Plays*, or in *Black Writing*. In addition, Arthur Jawodimbari published a play with CCA during the same time (645-649).

19. Like the high schools, the colleges of PNG had vigorous in-house publications for creative writing and for the preservation of folklore. Madang Teachers College published *Atamani*; Newton College published *Tame*; Gaulim Teachers College, *A Pot of Fish*; Port Moresby Teachers College, *Matamana*; St. Paul's Teachers College, *Legends*; Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Teachers College, *Pwapwa* [Verse]; and so on. Of those collections listed, only the last, published within the purview of the University of the South Pacific (East New Britain: Lotu Pasifika Productions), was a "professionally" published venture. And it is the only one whose authors were all women.

20. "Love Songs," from *Kovave* 1.2 (1970) had been previously published in *Hey Now*, edited by Greg Murphy, at GTC in 1973.

21. I have encountered no more in the *Hey Now* series. Finances were certainly a problem from the beginning and may have been the reason for the series' demise. In any event, the literary scene at GTC during the period has never been fully documented, but should be. GTC provided the country with generations of teachers, poets and playwrights, most notable of whom was Teloti (John) Kaniku, one-time director of NTC. The contribution of these people is fundamental to any literary history of PNG.

22. The same fate has befallen **all** mission-based publications. The bibliographies do contain Literature Bureau publications, though.

23. Glyn Davis' students were not the only students on campus writing on the periphery of the university-based system. Librarians from the Administrative College published a collection in 1978 called: *Short Stories, a Play, a Chant, and a Song from Papua*. The authors were S. Oda, K. Vagi, and C. Kamaya. What is interesting about this venture is that it was sponsored by the mission-based system. A two-week course on "Literacy and the Library," conducted by SIL members, Larry and Ann Cates, had included a mini writers workshop. The purpose was to expose students to the process so that they could replicate it in their own communities. The contents of the volume were in vernaculars and Pidgin, with English translations. The volume is hand-printed and photocopied.

This "invasion" of enemy territory was obviously a calculated one and indicates the rift between the two systems. The introduction to *Short Stories...* says in part:

> A **variety** [my emphasis] of literature to suit different levels of reader ability must be available in this country before the ideal of universal literacy as stated in the preamble to the Constitution can be realized. (2-3)

This broadside was either ignored, or not heard, for Krauth and Stenderup do not list this volume in their bibliographies.

24. For the relevance and importance of this Plan, see the Introduction to Chapter Four.

25. "Ondobondo" is a Binandere word meaning "festival, singsing, feasting."

26. This in spite of the fact that the University so discouraged Arts students in the late 1970s that only one student took Creative Writing in 1978 (Rudd 1980, 41; Beier 1980b, xiii).

27. See Chapter Six for further comment on the role played by newspapers.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE AND DECOLONIZATION I: THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MISSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION: NORMATIVE LINKS

In Milton Esman's formulation of Institution Building theory, normative links are those relations established between the new institution and others with common interests. They represent the institution's ability to register its own norms and values on the environment and in turn to incorporate other norms and values into its own structure. The resulting relations may be supportive or antagonistic. The question of what literature is and what its purpose might be has an importance peculiar to institutional transfer under decolonization. There were, for example, a whole set of values imposed on literature by other social systems. It was to serve as a vehicle for combatting colonialism, for teaching English, for entrenching nationalism, for spreading the gospel, and so on. The agendas held by other systems for literature were rarely supportive of it. But they were countered by a series of literary activities that valorized aesthetics in critical essays and reviews, through the formation of writers' clubs, the staging of writers' festivals, seminars, conferences, and the like.

The tension among the various social institutions of PNG that concerned themselves with literature forms the subject of this chapter. Each of the three blocks of literary activity -- situated with the government, the university, and the mission -- valued literature according to its own thematic pre-occupations at different times during decolonization. The government, at first concerned only with identity formation and nation-building, later moved to a second stage of this theme after Independence in 1975. Cultural reconstruction was meant to support decentralization and economic development. When decentralization was accomplished in the early 1980s, literature lost its relevance with this block. The university at first fostered anti-colonialism as a pre-condition for literary activity, but then altered its theme to one of black consciousness, or cultural integrity. In so doing, it blurred the originally established lines between high literature and popular literature that had been created by Beier in the late 1960s. The resulting loss of vision introduced uncertainty of purpose within that system. The mission theme of cultural reconstruction took on increasing power over the decolonizing period. Gradually it came to be expressed as the Melanesian Way, a set of values compiled to support the indigenized Christian church of PNG. For this reason, literature would never lose its relevance within the mission system, but would occupy an ambivalent position between an imported ideology and a manufactured indigenous philosophy.

In situations of imposed change, the least transferrable of all cultural components is belief. Yet no institution-building programme can be complete until its normative requirements are met. Consequently it is in the area of normative links that we can best study local resistance and adaptation to imposed institutional transfer. While each of the change agent-organized blocks of activity had its normative causes, each block encountered separate, and sometimes organized, indigenous causes. The encounter determined the flavour of debates over the role of writers and editors and of writing itself, matters of literary inheritance and aesthetic development, and questions of critical evaluation. This active resistance on the part of islanders suggests the normative direction which an indigenous literary system may follow in the future.

II. GOVERNMENTAL THEMES: NATIONALISM AND CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Nationalism in PNG was not a natural outgrowth of cultural and economic circumstances. It was a foreign concept imported during decolonization. But what is important about "nationalism" in PNG was the way it arrived: not as a replication of European nationalism, but as a process called "nation-building." This process was part of a set of institutional transfers during decolonization and was designed to ensure political stability for the transfer of power. All economic and social systems were understood to service nation-building. The scholarly literature of the time, for example, even discussed library-formation and creative writing as tools of the process (See Holdsworth 1976 and Mazrui 1966).

However, when the nation-building impulse transformed itself into one of economic development, the primacy of writing within the newly-formed decolonized society disappeared. As Richard Bjornson has pointed out, European nationalism grew out of and depended upon widespread literacy and on the technology of the printing press. Its principal tenets were political autonomy, unity, economic development, modernization, mass education, and a government prepared to represent the will and protect the welfare of the people (Bjornson 2-3). Clearly the imposition of nationalism meant a reliance on literature. The process would falter substantially if all the appropriate institutions were not in place.

In PNG, both nationalism and literature stumbled a good deal because partial systems had been implemented. Nation-building was not supported by widespread literacy. Publishing was never indigenized by a supportive government. Literature was misunderstood as an adjunct to the process instead of a central feature, if not a pre-condition. As a system, it was therefore inadequately funded and developed, producing texts without readers or critics. Its normative links were thus dominated by the norms of nation-building for the first decade. Even the shift in government theme from unity to cultural reconstruction in the late 1970s and early 1980s was not meant to re-structure the literary system according to intellectual or aesthetic norms. The new theme of "development" was just another face of the old theme, "nation-building." But, for the government, the urgency was gone. With Independence an established fact, cultural institutions lost their primacy and were dissolved or decentralized. Even decentralization often meant dissipation. With no stable funding or commitment to literature on the part of government, literature nearly died in the early 1980s.

The rooting of PNG's literature in the process of nation-building was evident in several reflective essays by its first generation of writers. Specifically, key architects of the literary system like John Kasaipwalova and Bernard Narokobi grounded the philosophy of their new literature in the *8 Aims* and in the

National Goals and Directive Principles. Therefore any analysis of the norms of the first two decades of PNG literature must take into account the role played by the *8 Aims* in the intellectual life of the country. They arose from the 1973 Faber Report (Report on Development Strategies for Papua New Guinea), produced by the Overseas Development Group. The group's visit, headed by Mike Faber of the University of East Anglia, was co-sponsored by the United Nations Development Program and the Australian Government. The Faber group was considered the most radical development team of its time. The purpose of the visit was to evaluate the development plan of the colonial Administration, which seemed to be following the usual pattern -- that in the newly-formed nation, the economy would be controlled by non-nationals.

Faber, who was influenced by Tanzanian socialism and notions of appropriate technology, wanted a development plan that ensured a fair distribution of wealth. For this reason, the *8 Aims* required that principles of indigenous economic control, equality, self-reliance, and decentralization become the core of all government policy-making. First Minister, Michael Somare, was among a small number of Papua New Guineans who were intimately involved with the formation of the Aims. Somare admired President Nyerere of Tanzania for his experiment in African socialism. So he tried to use the Aims as the means of imposing some of those socialist concepts on the capitalist economy of PNG. The *8 Aims* were so popular at first that they inspired the shape and content of the *National Goals and Directive Principles*. This second document added a populist ideology of Papua New Guinean ways to the intellectual climate (Fitzpatrick passim).

This emphasis on social and economic power-sharing held extraordinary appeal for intellectuals in PNG. Pokawin has claimed that, in fact, the *8 Aims* were the basis of students going to the villages over the holidays and later becoming part of development groups (1979, 62ff). Fugmann has explained that all the essays in the Anniversary issue of *Point* (1986) re-evaluating the decade since Independence used the *8 Aims* as a yardstick for achievement (xi-xiv). Even before Independence, intellectuals were frustrated by the slowness of the government to implement policy based on the Aims. The student strike of 1973, which closed the university down for an entire week, protested this political foot-dragging. In the end, the Somare government was forced to listen to student demands (Pokawin 1979). For First Minister Somare, the *8 Aims* were most useful in replacing certain recalcitrant colonial officials with a more amenable Central Planning Office. As well, his interests lay in indigenous economic control first, equality and the other Aims sometime later.

Political pressure from students and others forced Somare to begin the decentralization process that was ultimately so disruptive for cultural institutions like the NAS and the National Theatre Company (Fitzpatrick 23ff). What is more, the implementation of the *8 Aims* was passed in the House of Assembly, not as a Development Programme, but as an Improvement Programme, which allowed the national government both discretion and complete control over the interpretation of the Aims. Fitzpatrick argued that this political manoeuvre institutionalized the growing rift between the urban and the rural, keeping the peasantry ethnic and the technocrats cosmopolitan. The confusion this move created within literary circles was monumental.

A. Self-Help Movements

Kirsty Powell (1974) has argued that the most prevalent general feature she could determine in PNG literature was a continuing tension between the national and the local. Powell was assessing the first generation of literary texts which did largely divide into either cultural romanticism or national encomium. The subsequent decade, though, witnessed a decided shift in literary theme away from the nation to the village: a "decentralization" of literary theme which accompanied the decentralization of government. This notion of what literature should best do is the natural outgrowth of a socio-cultural centrality of PNG life, the self-help movement.[1] Under a variety of names and in sometimes very different circumstances, self-help movements developed from time to time as a means of removing constraints to native acquisition of wealth and power. They were often millennarian and mystical (like the Vailala Madness), but they were just as often politically defiant of colonial authority and the missions (like the Solomon Islands Marching Rule) (Saunana 431).

After the second World War these movements took on increasingly organized political and economic characteristics; that is, they protested openly the inequalities of colonial life. The Administration tended to view them with suspicion and tried to quell them whenever possible. Gradually much of this political energy focussed into the first political parties in PNG.[2] So a real shift took place in the early 1970s after the formation of UPNG and the introduction of native self-rule. The Somare government began in 1972 to actively encourage self-help groups. This was a way of recognizing its roots. But, as the regions became aware of their secondary position within a nation state, it was also a way of siphoning off a potentially dangerous brand of self-help, the micro-national secessionist group, chiefly Papua Besena and the North Solomons (Bougainville) movements.

Yet the self-help theme in PNG had a number of faces. Alongside the historical indigenous expression of anger and self-reliance existed a number of sanctioned local self-help structures -- business co-operatives and plantations organized, maintained and encouraged by various Christian missions. From economic necessity, South Pacific missions needed to be mostly self-sustaining. As a result, they had a century-old tradition of establishing viable enterprises like mills, printing presses, plantations, and so on.

In the early 1970s all three of these forces -- the indigenous, the religious and the administrative -- concatenated in a new style of self-help movement. An ironic blend of the rebellious and the official, the traditional and the modern, these latter-day associations were led by the new elite, most of whom were also the first generation of writers. At UPNG, these students had been exposed since 1966 by the change agents there to "critiques of nationalist urban-oriented development with Tanzania and China as models" (May 1981, 66). This emphasis on decentralization and self-reliance was reinforced in

1972 when guests at the Waigani seminar included Lloyd Best, René Dumont and Ivan Illich. Students were enthusiastic. Their president, John Kasaipwalova, proposed a student vegetable garden and a pig farm beside the campus.[3] At the same time they were being encouraged by Balint (Linguistics) and Beier (Literature) to perform "action research" over the holidays. Students like Hannet, Waiko, Kasaipwalova, and others returned home to initiate or help with local development projects. Many of them stopped writing altogether, thus creating the first of several "silences" in PNG literature.

The enthusiasm for self-help was actively supported by the very national institutions that would later suffer because of decentralization. At the university, for example, a 1973 workshop for students, staff and recent graduates resulted in the formation of the Melanesian Action Front. Its manifesto centred on equality, self-reliance and village development. The next year a joint staff-student group investigated how the institution might support students involved in village development projects (May 1981, 66-67). While village development work benefitted from this programme focus, the university was increasingly considered a manpower training institution. The situation for the Arts in particular became so critical that its very existence was thwarted in the late 1970s.

Oddly enough, as Independence approached, the colonial Administration became supportive of such self-reliance work. It was considered a necessary pre-condition to PNG's political independence. A visiting UN Development Project team in 1972 had endorsed the whole notion of local economic development for the country. In December of 1972 Michael Somare (then

Chief Minister) announced the Government's *Eight Aims for Improvement*. The *8 Aims* (or *8-Point Plan*), as it came to be known, was both the lynch-pin and the laughing stock of government policy during decolonization. It was part of a carefully articulated series of goals and priorities that was later joined by the 5 *National Goals and Directive Principles* in the *Preamble to the New Constitution*.

The architects of these documents were drawn from among the ranks of the Administrative College and UPNG graduates; it represented creative writers from both systems. Chief among them was Bernard Narokobi whose moderation and broad cultural concerns are evident throughout. The *National Goals* are general: they address the need for personal freedom, equality, and participation; national sovereignty and self-reliance; control over national resources development; and the intent to use indigenous institutions to achieve development. The *8 Aims* are specific: one of them advocates the rights of women; one of them addresses the need for indigenous control over the economy; the remaining 6 aims all address in one way or another the necessity to decentralize all aspects of the economy and government services. In addition, they speak of the need to strengthen local structures which are the true basis of PNG society.[4]

Although criticized for its actual reticence regarding decentralization, the Somare government did implement a number of policies aimed directly at aiding self-help movements. It established a number of funds to assist villages in economic development, including grants from the NCC for local cultural projects. Many local drama groups owe their existence to this policy. As do many political protest groups which, through goverment funding, were eventually diverted into economic self-help organizations themselves. Among these were John Kasaipwalova's Kabisawali Village Development Corporation and John Waiko's Komge Oro. Significant for the second decade of PNG literature in this socio-political tendency is a certain presence and a corresponding absence. Present is a predominant theme -- a concern for the cultural values of the villages; i.e., the Melanesian. Part of this presence is the absence of anti-colonial rhetoric and in this probably lies the philosophical basis of an indigenous literary tradition. Present as well are representatives of both literary systems. Writers from both the university and the missions, from government agencies and institutions were all encouraged and inspired (albeit for different ideological purposes) to be nurtured by and to speak for oral culture. John Waiko, in a 1976 speech given at UPNG said: "I also think that giving a voice to the villagers of PNG -- is the singlemost vital political act needed in the country" (*READ* 13.1 [1978]: 25). This was Waiko's definition of the national writer: a person who recognized his responsibility to build up the literature from inside the culture by writing first in the vernacular. Once a repertoire of texts in indigenous languages had been amassed, PNG could say it had a national literature. His re-definition of the word "national" as indigenous is consistent with his earlier essays on language use and village culture.

But where was the vernacular writing to complement all the social development work? Very little of it was to come from the first generation of writers. By 1973, most had stopped writing to become civil servants or to lead their people. Their names loomed like empty houses over the next two generations of writers. The shadows cast by their first works so overwhelmed younger writers that it seemed to literary commentators that no new writing succeeded them. The first generation was criticized for its lack of productivity. The personal and professional circumstances that led them into other endeavours were thrown at them as a challenge by Taban lo Liyong at the 1976 writers conference. John Kasaipwalova responded that:

> We carried on the literary tradition of teaching and learning from people, filling their stomachs...I feel we will write again, and have something to contribute to this country and to writers throughout the world...I will wait until Leo picks up his pen, and then I'll say, 'I can do better.' I hope we will write in a year or two, but Leo Hannet must begin. (Qtd. in Goodwin 172-74)

Taban lo Liyong was not the only person disappointed by the absence of creative work from the "Apostles" of PNG literature. Younger writers felt that, unless backed up by a product, all the early rhetoric was meaningless. When later writers were finally able to mount a union with a corresponding periodical, *PNG Writer*, this complaint was prominent:

> PNG Writers Union members and intending members are progressively writing and not just talking about it as so many established figures have done in the last decade. (Foreword 1.2 [1985])

Was this digression into village self-help movements all for nothing, from a literary point of view? Not at all. It served to re-connect the PNG writer, both literally and figuratively, to the culture he had lost through education. It served as a significant valorizing institution for oral culture and indigenous lived experience. A wealth of stories, plays and novels have been submitted to Literature Competitions throughout the 1980s. A substantial number of these, especially the novels, take village life as a theme. This recent tendency demonstrates one aesthetic result of the self-help movements of the 1970s.

B. *PNGW*'s Role

The Literature Bureau's most active period of involvement with PNG nationalism was during Roger Boschman's and Jack Lahui's tenure as editors of *PNGW*. From 1972-76, the catchword in the country was "national." But neither of the two shadow literary systems addressed nationalism. The university-based system avoided it altogether. Beier had always felt the Literature Bureau had to answer to too many political masters and he wanted more freedom than that. For his most politicized writers, those who had set themselves up as the "loyal opposition" under the Australians, the role of political conscience to the nation prevented them from embracing the indigenous political masters without question. Mission-based writers were not so much skeptical of the nationalist impulse as concerned to maintain the power of the people in the villages. As a result, out of their own needs, the writers in these two systems provided a balance to the nationalist extravagances on the pages of *PNGW*.

Reading *PNGW* during the period one would be excused for thinking that the entire purpose of PNG's literary institutions was to promote national unity. In 1972 the Political Education Committee sponsored a national play-writing competition and a national unity poster competition which the Literature Bureau conducted as special events. The competitions closed on April 30 and so were kept completely separate from the National Competition, which closed at the end of July. The National Unity Play Competition attracted 27 entries. The winning play was *The New Dawn* by UPNG student, Peter Wandau. The play "showed how life at the university helps to break down language and other barriers among the people from different parts of Papua New Guinea" (7 [1972]: 23). The prize was $100. If there was fair interest in the National Unity Play Competition, the poster competition was a walkaway success. Prizes were divided among students at all levels, the largest prize being $50. Total prize money was only $254; 408 entries were received.

The sponsorship of the National Unity Competitions continued the next year with 244 entries for poetry and 312 posters. This nation-building programme culminated in the Independence Poetry and Essay Competitions of 1975 sponsored by Operation Nation Building. In issue 19, editor Lahui celebrated the journal's and the country's efforts with the winning entries to the National Unity Competitions of 1975. It is indicative of the times that these pieces were called "forward-looking," while equally impassioned articles against Independence (and which did not receive prizes) were "the results of uncertainty, fear or ignorance" (2).

PNGW actively promoted these competitions for months before their deadline. And for three years, writers themselves were pressed into active service. Aloysius Aita, for example, wrote "National Unity for Papua New Guinea," in 10 (June

1973), urging everyone to look to the greater whole as a means of beginning the vital process of political and economic development. Much of this activity was organized around National Writers Day, which was instituted by the Literature Bureau in 1972 as a means of supporting the Competition prize-giving. Writers Day became an opportunity for politicians and writers to discuss writing and other cultural matters before a national audience.

At the First Writers Day speeches on September 16, 1972, Aloysius Aita explained how to write a short story. But, by the next year, the speeches were defining the different views of the role of the writer in the new country. Vincent Eri saw writers as functioning in the crucial gap between the traditional and the modern. Because most islanders could not yet read, Eri felt it imperative that writers work through the media of drama and radio to bring important issues before the people. Because of the rapid pace of change in PNG, Eri felt it necessary that writing bridge the widening gap between the illiterate yet powerful and knowledgeable elders and the literate youth.

Apisai Enos was less interested in the tension between old and new as he was in the balance between the local and the national. In his view, writers must actively preserve PNG's culture, by writing in Pidgins and vernaculars. Enos felt the broader entity meant nothing if the cultural diversity of the country were lost: "The role of the creative writer is to give pride and vision to our cultural heritage...which must be maintained as the basic force of creating unity in our country" (12 [1973]: 13).

The speech made by Director of Education and Director of the NCC, Alkan Tololo was, not surprisingly, focussed on the writer's educative role. But the illiterate adult was the audience he had in mind. In his opinion, writers should use vernaculars and Pidgins to provide interesting material for elders to read. He criticized writers for being an isolated elite producing texts for a small number of their university friends.[5]

Contemporary issues, generation gaps, cultural survival, adult education -- heady business for a group of young men not yet 25 years old. The seriousness with which both Administration officials and writers approached their task is evident in the 1974 Writers Day speeches. Philip Bouraga of DIES reminded his audience that former Administrator Johnson felt the "writer should recognise his duties of creating national consciousness" (16 [1974]: 12). Alongside this primary goal of the Administration for its nascent literary system, Bouraga balanced his own concern that oral literature be collected and maintained through Literature Bureau programmes.

His theme was expanded by Paulias Matane, who was very emphatic that young writers take their role as authentic cultural voices seriously. Disgusted by the stereotype of the Papua New Guinean he had encountered on his trip to Africa, Matane demanded writers consciously try to reverse the mistaken images propagated by anthropologists, missionaries, and professional foreign writers. At the same time he required them to "remember that they use that tool [writing] for Papua New Guinea's development in all fields, be they political, social, economical, cultural or educational," producing small understandable, cheap books for the people (16 [1974]:19).

Behind all of this public idealism stood the unwavering support of *PNGW* editorials and articles. Beginning with Boschman's first editorial in 5 (1972), the focus changed completely to nation-building. In announcing the name change from *NGW* to *PNGW*, Boschman stated "the correct name of our [my emphasis] country is now Papua New Guinea....that it is one nation and one people." With 8 (1972), the journal began to use the cover page artwork to reinforce this message. The illustration showed the breaking of weapons to indicate the end of "tribal groups and the beginning of friendship and harmony." All "right-thinking Papua New Guineans" were urged to work for "peace, brotherhood and security over the years ahead." In 9 (1973) the cover was re-designed to suggest unity and communication. Writers were reminded that "Unity is the Key." The December 1973 issue even tried to show that there was unity of belief in PNG among indigenous and Christian practices.

At times political concerns were blatantly obvious. The next issue of *PNGW* featured the new flag and the country's new crest as illustrations for Aloysius Aita's article on Writing and National Unity. But governmental paranoia about secession was most evident in 11 (1973) where Boschman clearly tied the language issue to national unity. In asking his readership whether they wanted to read creative writing in Pidgin, Boschman emphasized that "as safety and security depend largely upon communication among people, our writers will be increasingly called upon to use their talent and ability." The government's superficial concern with writing lasted only until Independence was achieved. And so the turn around from ideological urgency to complete unconcern with creative writing hit the Literature Bureau like lightning within a year of Independence. In issues 21/22 (1976), Jack Lahui wondered: "Has the Literature Bureau fought the battle without the honours or has it been used as a catalyst which can be got rid of once the goals and objectives for other organizations are achieved." With no copyright protection, no governmental support, and no readership, PNG writers felt totally abandonned.

C. The National Cultural Council (NCC)

The Literature Bureau's inability to orchestrate cultural activity on a national scale was obvious. What was needed was a non-governmental body which could be seen as a disinterested party. Accordingly, when Australian aid made $5,000,000 in seed money available in 1972 for a 5-year Cultural Development Programme, a National Cultural Council (NCC) was formed. Beginning in 1973 under Dr. Alkan Tololo, the NCC was to advise the government on policy with respect to promoting cultural development. It was also meant to disburse government moneys to organizations and individuals. The two main thrusts of its mandate were to promote cultural activity and to preserve cultural artifacts.

When the Cultural Development Act was passed in 1974, the Council was able to establish certain national cultural institutions. In addition, the NCC was responsible for encouraging and enabling cultural exchanges such as the 1974 trip to Lagos taken by Arthur Jawodimbari and Nelson Giraure in order to help plan the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. Periodically, it operated as a

Literature Board might, funding special projects like the 1980s Ondobondo project in the Literature Department. However, its primary activity was the establishment and maintenance of three institutions. The National Museum was meant to house PNG's cultural artifacts as well as to re-patriate those artifacts that had been taken to off-shore collections. The Council took over the direction of the then CCA and re-shaped it into the National Arts School. A spin-off of the activities of the Centre became the National Theatre Company.[6] The third arm of the NCC was IPNGS, the brain-child of Ulli Beier (*NCC* 1977).

The NCC operated under precarious circumstances after 1978, when the Australian grant gave out. The Culture portfolio was tossed to and fro in various combinations with Education, Recreation, Tourism, and even Civil Aviation. From 1978 onward its agencies and programmes were continually conflated in cost-cutting efficiency moves. The Literature Bureau was collapsed into the IPNGS. *PNGW* and *Gigibori* were collapsed into the single journal, *Bikmaus*, and so on. The themes had changed. National unity had given way to cultural development, a version of national unity. But by 1980 the theme had become economic development. Cultural agencies had no purchase in such an atmosphere. With NTC dismantled and IPNGS absorbed into the new NRI in 1988, there seemed little need for NCC. That year, the NCC became part of Culture, Tourism, and Civil Aviation. Then the government repealed the Culture Act. Every agency was left on its own with no Culture Department for protection or definition.

D. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS)

The third NCC institution was the IPNGS, which operated from 1974 until 1988, when it was absorbed into the NRI.[7] Its director from 1974-78 was Ulli Beier, who had been operating a similar institute in Ife, Nigeria, since his departure from UPNG in 1971. The Institute was funded primarily out of NCC money, although Beier was able to bring some Nigerian support with him on his return (Krausman interview with Beier 77). The stated objective of IPNGS was to research, record, and interpret "all aspects of traditional indigenous culture in Papua New Guinea." With this material in hand the Institute was to establish a folklore library, a tape and sound library, a film project, a publications programme, and a trust fund for further research. In addition, IPNGS was charged with the responsibility of regulating who could conduct such research and under which conditions. All IPNGS records were to be made available for the development of literature, drama, music and the visual arts in PNG (*NCC* 1977, 39).

Beier saw IPNGS as a rescue operation. The material had to be collected and archived as soon as possible since many village cultures were dying from culture contact. But his interests were not archival. "Our aims were not merely scholarly but also political: we were trying to build up a reservoir of cultural heritage and to help the development of a sense of national unity" (1978, 5). Independence had presented a very frightening prospect for the new government: two serious secessionist movements (Papua Besena and Bougainville) in a country which, by virtue of its geography, and linguistic and cultural disparity, could spawn dozens of such movements. There were no large-scale indigenous structures to build on: no chieftancy structures, no communal language or religion, no competitive trading. The comparison and analysis of folklore was one of the few possibilities for establishing communal cultural links. By the late 1970s, researchers had discovered several commonalities. The "Ogre-Killing Child," for instance, was thought to be the most widespread myth in PNG. Prithvindra Chakravarti had first written on this topic in *Gigibori* when Beier established that journal at IPNGS. John Kaniku had been able to construct the *Epic of Tauhau* from research he had conducted among six language groups in the Milne Bay District. Each group had only known a fragment of the whole epic. The existence of this epic was a way of demonstrating to disparate groups that they were connected to a larger whole outside their own villages (Beier 1978, 16).

The publications section under Beier's directorship exhibited the same vitality witnessed at the Literature Department during his tenure there. Contemporary issues were raised and debated in a series of Institute Discussion Papers. The Institute published and hosted a number of periodicals from *Oral History*, to *Gigibori*, to *Bikmaus*, and the *Journal of the Morobe Historical Society*. The Institute began publishing a whole series of folklore collections in 1974, starting with Andrew Strathern's *Melpa Amb Kenan* [Courting Songs of the Melpa People]. This collection differed from previous ones in that the poems/songs were not random, but represented a complete ceremony, or cycle. Anthropologists like Strathern contributed a number of such works to the IPNGS booklist. In addition, Beier made sure that older collections by German anthropologists were re-translated into English. The Institute published a Gabriele Diugu translation of *Myths and Legends of the Ngaimbom and Monumbeo* in 1974. And Beier translated *Myths and Stories from Murik Lakes* himself in 1975. Native writers like Allan Natachee were encouraged to publish what they knew. *The History of the Mekeo* appeared in 1974.

However, until enough material was forthcoming from islanders, Beier fueled the fires himself, as he had done at UPNG. In 1974, the year he started the Institute, Beier published *Sun and Moon in PNG Folklore* with Chakravarti. This anthology represented a selection from across the country, but was organized on a predominant theme. Beier extended his distribution by producing a series of 10 radio talks entitled "Folklore in Melanesia." As always, Beier's view was global. Although his stated purpose was nationalistic, he could never resist pointing to larger connections. Hence *The World Through Poetry* series where traditional poetry from PNG appeared with that of other third world countries (1978, 16). The publications available in 1977 give a fair representation of the activity of IPNGS during this period: 4 Occasional Papers (20-40 pp. each on the topic of housing); 3 books of local songs (80-100 pp. each); 1 collection of NBC talks about poetry (128 pp.) by Ulli Beier, called "The Eye of God Does Not Grow Grass"; 1 collection of Central District Guitar Songs with vernacular and English texts (55 pp.); 22 collections of poetry (50-66 pp. each), including Russell Soaba's *Naked Thoughts*; vol. 1 of the *How* folklore series, ed. Apisai Enos and Russell Soaba; 4 readers in local languages; 3 bibliographies of music/writing from IPNGS archives; 10 novels; 13 plays. Beier had single-handedly taken over the business of publishing literature for

PNG writers with one institute. Former students and colleagues from UPNG like Russell Soaba, Jacob Simet, Apisai Enos, and Kaka Kais joined Beier as researchers for the Institute.

As the 1970s wore on, though, it was clear that the NCC funds would not be renewed by the Australians or replaced by the new independent Government. The IPNGS was becoming untenable as an independent institute. Beier left for Australia. He was replaced in 1978 by John Kolia, the Australian editor of *Oral History*. Kolia had moved with the journal from UPNG about a year before when he could see that the university had declined as the centre of literary activity and that the Institute had picked up that role. But Kolia had taken over Beier's job just when the political winds were changing at the Institute as well. The Australian money was beginning to dry up. Kolia was, nevertheless, on the Institute's behalf and on his own, very active. He edited and published collections of poetry entries from the Literature Competitions and remained actively involved with the Competitions until the Institute was absorbed into NRI. But Kolia used his brief term as director to publish many of his own works as well. Within two years the IPNGS catalogue bristled with Kolia's writing. Seven of the ten books published by IPNGS in 1977 were Kolia's novels and eight of the 13 plays. This was in addition to a vernacular reader, a grammar, and a manual on how to write a history book -- all by Kolia as well. One wonders whether there was enough paper left to publish indigenous writing. Indeed the situation prompted Russell Soaba to comment in a 1979 *Span* interview that the Institute was "doing a lot of publishing at the moment, but whether it [would] continue to publish indigenous writing is not certain" (16).[8] Several of Kolia's works were dedicated to the Beiers and to Peter Trist of NBC, who produced many of his plays on radio. Ulli Beier had encouraged Kolia to write his first novel and Georgina did all his art work. Kolia's creative texts all assume a critical stance toward PNG society from the inside, as though he were native; they were anti-colonial (his main targets being Australians and Christian churches) and anti-neocolonial (he wrote biting satirical verse directed toward the new leaders).

By 1982, Kumalau Tawali and then Andrew Strathern had succeeded Kolia as Director of IPNGS. Strathern was an anthropologist who had spent many years working in PNG. It was a depressing time to be at the Institute. In 1980, former Prime Minister Michael Somare had issued a general appeal to the nation to support the Institute by donating to its building fund. The Government simply could not afford its K750,000 price tag (Somare 91). In "Cultural Dependence Since 1972," a Waigani Seminar paper published in 1975, Strathern outlined the financial embarrassments of the Institute. There were only one or two research people for each department. Three of the most senior national staff were away taking full-time training for higher degrees. There was so little money to fund projects that the Institute had to rely on foreign researchers for help. The Administration expected the Institute to generate K5-20,000 income each year, which was then deducted from its budget. Even worse, until 1982, any income in excess of the stipend figure was taken back from Institute control. Strathern complained that the K100 fee charged to visiting researchers was supposed to go into a trust fund to support local research, but that it hadn't been used for that purpose. Finally, since 1980 the total NCC funds disbursed from the national government to the provincial governments had been cut in half from K100,000 to K50,000 (Strathern 289-293).

1. *Bikmaus*

Despite its financial constraints and its problems with autonomy, IPNGS maintained a strong publishing programme. Most interesting of its publications for literary history were the journals. *Oral History*, which had begun in the Department of History, was published jointly with the Department. It continued the results of field work conducted all over PNG. Ulli Beier had begun *Gigibori* in 1975. It was a folklore journal of high standards, which appeared twice each year. Although many of PNG's writers worked at the Institute as research officers, literature had no particular place in Institute periodicals until the appearance of *Bikmaus* in 1980. *Bikmaus* was meant to serve the historical and folkloric roles of *Oral History* and *Gigibori* as well as the literary role of *PNGW*. Significantly, when John Kolia listed *Bikmaus'* periodical predecessors, there was no mention of the political *Kovave*. The Institute, as a government agency, would not promote writing that could be understood as politically divisive. The cultural unity theme of the Institute prevailed.

Even so, John Kasaipwalova (that arch-political writer) was the first editor of *Bikmaus*. In his initial editorial he wrote: "Our hope is that *Bikmaus* will become a forum for the dissemination of information and the intelligent debate of controversial issues" (1). It was to be literally a "big mouth," a shout or a yell. It might even become impudent or saucy. As a forum for intellectual debate *Bikmaus* was the most interesting periodical of its time. It carried a generically undifferentiated mix of creative literature, poetry, art, folklore, anthropological study, history, film and book reviews, and critical essays in about 100 pages. Contributors from both literary systems were present on its pages. Not only were writers like Walter Darius, Paulias Matane, and Bernard Narokobi present, but topics dealt with mission involvement in PNG life. Most other writers were Literature Competition winners. Furthermore, the editorial board was drawn originally from the last days of *PNGW*: Jack Lahui and John Kolia were on the Board and John Kolia was the editor. In 1982, when Andrew Strathern took over as director of IPNGS, the Board was expanded to include Strathern and another Literature Bureau writer, Rex Okona, as well as Kathy Kituai. In 1984, PNG playwright, Nora Vagi Brash, was added, along with UPNG lecturer Kalyan Chatterjee.

Strathern's editorship meant more access to funds. *Bikmaus* increased its frequency to four times each year and kept up steady publication until issue 7.4 (1987), when it lapsed.[9] Remnants of the political 1970s float through the pages of *Bikmaus*. For instance, most of Joseph Sukwianomb's African literature reviews appear here. But for the most part, the entries are balanced between the reflective and the forward-looking. Essays like "Indigenizing Christian Worship in Melanesia," "Christians in the Trans-Gogol and the Madang Province," "Manipulating Myth and History," "The Researcher/Tourist Controversy," and the "Myth of the Noble Anthropologist," examine the effects of colonialism as well as the process of decolonization. Other essays, like "The Need for Indigenization of Social Sciences," "An Example of Pacific Micro-Nationalism," and "The Protection of National Cultural Property," address contemporary issues.

Over its seven year history, *Bikmaus* consistently weighted its contents toward the normative. From 1.1 (1980) to 6.1 (1985), one third to one half of its entries were reviews and a similar amount were essays. They were all in English. Each issue contained a submission of images -- photographs of PNG. Each issue had a play and a poem or two, or perhaps a story and a poem. Only once is there an actual piece of folklore in the tradition of *PNGW*. Most of the contributors of essays and reviews were not islanders, but anthropologists. Most of the reviews were of works about PNG by other anthropologists. Many of the *Bikmaus* writers review each other. From 3.3 (1982) to 5.3 (1984), a significant number of the reviews and essays were about PNG literature. Some of the sharpest criticism and most careful analysis of PNG literature is contained in Houbein's "The Theme of Love in Papua New Guinea Literature," Singh's "PNG Writing in English: Problems and Prospects," McGaw's "PNG: The Role of Literature in a Newly-Independent Country," Powell's "The Dilemma of the PNG Writer in the 80s," and Sharrad's "A Map of PNG Short Stories."

With the imminent departure of Andrew Strathern in 1986, *Bikmaus* became significantly more literary in its content. In fact creative writing appeared to the exclusion of all else. In 6.2, the entire issue was taken up by a Wilhelm Tagis novel. In 6.3, the issue was filled by two stories, a novella, and a 40-

page poem. The editorship of Jack Lahui had purged *Bikmaus* of anthropologists and had provided an alternative to the university-based Writers Union journal, *PNG Writer* all in one go. As *Ondobondo* ran out of funds and the *PNG Writer* came unstuck, *Bikmaus* was prepared to be the national literary journal. Although not originally dedicated to literature, *Bikmaus* is nevertheless an important part of PNG literary history. Its encyclopedic critical pieces try to untangle the general trends of the previous decade. But they serve more than a sympathetic role. They also question why those trends developed and how they relate to specific works of art. As such, the *Bikmaus* essays stand as the most coherent block of criticism for PNG literature to date.

III. MISSION THEMES: CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND CHRISTIANITY

A. The Church and Nationalism

In PNG it is very nearly impossible to separate the Christian church from political life. In fact, preparation for political independence through developing a sense of national unity was made easier for the Administration because of church history. In most cases, church independence preceded national independence. Lutheran and Anglican local church councils had preceded government local councils. Indigenous churchmen had had autonomy and experience in church administration and government before the Australian Administration had organized a similar process politically (Forman 210). Because of the high degree of penetration of Christianity as a whole in PNG, and because most of the indigenous elite were from the manse in one way or another (Firth 349; K. Powell 1979, 13), nationalism was a church issue.

Nowhere was the tension between the national and the local felt more keenly then in the mission-based literary system. On the one hand its writers willingly participated in Literature Bureau programmes and National Literature Competitions. On the other hand, they strove to maintain the validity of village life, which was the centre of church life.

B. Umbrella Agencies: The Melanesian Council of Churches (MCC) and the Melanesian Institute

Taken together, SIL, the CTC, Word Publishing, Kristen Pres, the United Church Literature Department and the Melanesian Institute were the architects and main institutions of the mission-based literary system. And if there was an administrative body associated with the mission-based literary system in the same sense that the government acted with respect to the Literature Bureau, it was the MCC. The MCC is primarily supported by the four largest churches in PNG: the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, the United and the Evangelical Lutheran. The Evangelical Alliance of the South Pacific (a parallel body of the new evangelical churches located in the Highlands) did not wish to become part of the MCC. However, the two agencies have kept in close touch.

During the 1960s and early 1970s national church councils were forming up all over the Western Pacific, especially where no one church predominated. The largest of these was the MCC. Like other such Pacific councils, the MCC was mostly interested in co-operative development projects. The MCC dealt directly with the PNG government in the planning and inception of many of these ventures. But, where the government's focus tended to be national, the churches always concentrated on the local and particular. Some MCC projects were large-scale ventures like the CCC. Others were smaller, but internationally known enterprises such as the *Liklik Buk: A Rural Development Handbook*, a popular, comprehensive resource book for appropriate technology.[10] In general, though, the MCC was interested in small-scale, labour-intensive projects that supported village traditions and encouraged self-reliance, spiritual growth and human dignity (Forman 216ff).

The research arm of the MCC is the Melanesian Institute, which parallels in many ways the activities of IPNGS and the academic journals housed at UPNG. The Institute is located in Goroka. Like the IPNGS, the Melanesian Institute focussed on cultural studies, an activity directly tied to a specific ideology. In the case of IPNGS, it was "cultural development" with fairly loose links to national unity. As for the Melanesian Institute, "cultural analysis" served the continuing colonial mission work. Unlike the IPNGS, the Melanesian Institute served (and still serves) not as a storehouse for collected materials, but as an information clearing house linking all the member churches and their programmes.

The Institute was established in 1968 as a Catholic institution. Within a few years it became ecumenical, although the presence of Catholic directors, editors and writers remained substantial. The Melanesian Institute concerns itself with pastoral and socio-economic issues. Its principal aim is to understand Melanesian culture and society so as to help churches operate more efficiently. It is dominated by *expats* and is an example, like SIL, of a change agency that did not leave. One clear indication of where the control lies in the Melanesian Institute is that, although its periodicals have been indigenized, the Board remained expat. The Institute understands its position as "foreign." The pages of its publications often discuss how effective the Institute can be without Melanesian participation. Sr. Maria Burke, the Institute's fourth director, wrote a retrospective in 1986 of the Institute's work. She claims that efforts to indigenize had been largely unsuccessful because there were as yet too few Melanesians who were able to combine the academic qualifications, the pastoral experience and the ecclesiastical dedication needed to become a researcher for the Institute. The few educated Melanesians were needed to fill positions within the churches themselves. While the Institute waited for indigenization, Sr. Burke pondered whether swapping Melanesians for Europeans at the Institute was appropriate at all. Should Melanesians simply take over what was, after all, a European priority? Perhaps Melanesians did not need this sort of institute. Perhaps they did not need an institute at all (53).

The Institute exists, then, to serve a group of *expat* change agents. It has three programme directions: teaching, research, and publication. It offers in-service workshops and seminars based on the research of sociologists, linguists, education workers, anthropologists, ethnologists, and the like. It has co-ordinated several major church self-study projects and a marriage and family-life project. And it publishes three journals: *Catalyst*, *Point*, and *Umben*.

1. Catalyst

Catalyst is the flagship publication of the Institute and is funded by it. Its writers are predominantly *expat* and Catholic. The readership numbers about 900. Most of the contributions to *Catalyst* are essays of 2-4 pages. But it includes book reviews, letters, and reports as well. It is a popular magazine among church workers and, by the late 1980s, was in the happy position of receiving four times as many submissions as it was able to publish. *Catalyst* had begun in 1970 by paying $15 (Australian) for articles, but had discontinued the practice. In 1990, the editor decided to re-institute payment (now K25) in order to encourage Melanesians to publish.[11] *Catalyst* appears in English geared for people with a secondary education, but who may not be fluent in English. Editors correct only for grammar, spelling, and punctuation. If the writer's English requires extensive revision, the manuscript is returned to the writer to make sure the meaning has not been changed.

By 1987, the journal had been able to indigenize its entire staff when the training of Alphonse Aime was completed by Paul Roche, the last of the *expat* editors. Aime had been recommended to Roche by Fr. Mihalic for his work as a Tok Pisin translator. Part of Aime's training was conducted in Australia with Jacaranda Wiley Publications and with the University of Queensland Press (MacDonald 9-19).[12]

Catalyst's impact on PNG literature is minimal, but it is included here as a contrast to *Point*, the Institute's other English publication. *Point* began as occasional special issues of *Catalyst*. In 1975, it was separated out as an autonomous publication. It publishes once yearly on a unified theme. Often the essays are taken from papers presented at Institute seminars. The essays tend to be about 15 pages long and many are researched with notes and bibliographies. The contributors are mostly educated islanders, teachers, and churchmen. But papers written by university staff are not uncommon. *Point* is served by the same Board that oversees *Catalyst*, but editors seem to have independence.

2. *Point*

The first four years of *Point* tend to be as overburdened with Christian ideology as are the entire 23 years of *Catalyst*. But in 1979, Helen O'Brien took over as editor. The academic rigour of the journal took a quantum leap; a variety of opinions were represented by the essays; and the number of women on the Board rose dramatically. *Point* is not afraid to tackle controversy. It has published issues on women and society, on youth and crime, religion and development, on the church and politics, and so on. Although it is not a literary magazine, many of the crossover and university-based writers use it as a forum: Bernard Narokobi, John Waiko, Joseph Sukwianomb, Kumalau Tawali, to name a few. The journal serves as a meeting ground for people who take a "Melanesian," rather than a "Nationalist" stance. As such, it is a normative bell-weather for cultural concerns.

Taken as a whole, the three journals of the Melanesian Institute participate on the periphery of the mission-based literary system by virtue of their pro-Melanesian policies. The Institute is a powerful force in the country. The fact that it fosters and nurtures Melanesian opinion, that it attracts writers and readers from a cross-section of residents -- the educated elite, the *expat* professional, the mission teacher, and the lay churchman -- has made it a factor in the intellectual, political and, therefore, the literary life of many writers. As an institution, its programmes provide normative and diffuse linkages for the literary system. But, like all other foundation institutions of the mission-based system, it is enabled by foreign financing and controlled primarily by foreign change agents. In this reality lies the basis of its apparent stability and the difference between it and the IPNGS.

C. The Melanesian Way

The enabling and functional links of the mission-based system have historically empowered vernaculars and Pidgin. The normative links of the system have emphasized Melanesian values through the retention of village structures and self-help movements. The term, "Melanesian" is used with increasing frequency in mission publications from the mid 1970s to the present. The Melanesian Way represents a valorization of indigenous cultures. But it also serves as a political foil to the nationalist thrust of PNG's various governments and their agencies, and as a counter-balance to anti-colonial forces in the university-based system. It is a conscious attempt to resist elitist governments, administrative centralization, the hegemony of English, the attacks of anti-colonialism: everything which threatened nearly a century (in some cases) of Christian-organized structures. The mission-based system became, then, the site for resistance, for refusal to play the neo-colonial game; at the same time it served as proof that the two cultures could accomodate one another in such important matters as culture and belief.

In advocating strong local structures for PNG society, the missions were essentially continuing what had, in many cases, been at the root of their own work for decades. So in that sense, the burgeoning self-help movements of the 1970s period posed no threat to their existing structures. Only those movements which were patently secessionist provoked concerted reaction. The United Church, for example, was very active in countering the Papua Besena movement. The church supported the local, but not at the expense of the larger whole. But many within the church could not leave local advocacy at the doors of the House of Assembly. Several churchmen, like Fr. John Momis and Bernard Narokobi, became actively involved in politics, often leading parties with a Melanesian character; that is, with a decidedly regional or ethnic bias.

In the end, Narokobi became best known as the spokesman for a Melanesian Way. And the Melanesian Way came to be associated with church-based cultural and political endeavours. In this way, the unity and stability of PNG's churches and their long advocacy of the Melanesian has kept the Melanesian Way alive as a political force. According to Narokobi, the Melanesian Way refers to a Western Pacific cultural philosophy that regards Melanesians as a people "with a coherent and systemic identity and culture; a total, cosmic view of life complete with perceptions of land, family, death, marriage, property, law and philosophy" (Narokobi 1990, 30).

Because the Melanesian Soul Force emanated from the co-operative, land-based structures of the village, Narokobi felt that all national structures should be based on the village. Urban architecture, dancing and debating squares surrounded by trees, collective land tenure -- all were local structures which could give real meaning to PNG's cities. Narokobi was not blind to the potential hazards of his position on cultural values. He knew that the "traditional" could often shelter greed and corruption. Nor was Bernard Narokobi a fool. He knew the reaction negritude-like proposals could provoke:

> All too often, anyone who invokes the spirit of the Melanesian Way or the Melanesian vision of the cosmos is dismissed as an impractical dreamer who is trying to turn the clock back. (1978, 8)

His point was that denying the past also denied the future. He was demanding that church, government and business all fit into Melanesian culture, not the other way round. His efforts have always been to valorize the Melanesian, not for its own sake, but as a way of balancing and tempering the effects of western incursion. To this end he wrote for some time a weekly column in the *Post-Courier* on topics of culture and ethnic identity.

In 1986 Narokobi summarized the first ten years of Independence in the Ethics and Development issue of *Point*. Narokobi, who has served at every level of the PNG legal system, from lawyer to Minister of Justice, was bitterly critical of the benefits delivered by the western nation-state. He contrasted the notion of the state with that of the clan; a system where the people were abused, as opposed to one where they were nurtured:

> In my opinion, the State exists to exploit, to perpetuate itself and to justify its existence. The clan or a village exists, on the contrary, as long as it maintains its balance. (1986, 7)

Because the nation-state was a foreign institution, Narokobi felt that islanders could not properly understand its ideology or its history and could therefore not use it as the basis for appropriate law-making.

As far as law-making was concerned, Narokobi contrasted the penalizing, proscribing western state with the Way of Life of the clan. Law-making states took power from the individual, he felt. Societies based on a Way of Life focussed, not on finality, but on reconciliation, mediation, and continuity. He observed that there were no prisons before Europeans arrived in PNG -- nor were there words for "law" or "prison." Finally, he noted that the dichotomies inherent in western society prevented the village unity that the nation-state strove for. Why, he wondered should islanders continue to follow a model which was crumbling. If there were anything to guide his countrymen, it was the Constitutional Goals and Directive Principles set down a decade before, yet followed by so few (1986).

During the second decade of PNG literature, the concept of the nation was firmly supplanted by that of the Melanesian. Decolonization had taught people to look for broader connections beyond the borders of individual languages and societies. In a 1986 *PNG Writer* article, John Koknack openly mused over the possibility of a regional Melanesian state, a confederation of several ethnically-related existing island states.

But most of all, the Melanesian Way contributed to a sense of pride in self-sufficiency. Kove Waiko argues in 1988 that the entire education system should be re-organized on Melanesian principles (39). In a 1987 *READ* article, she had demanded that literacy projects be locally funded (40-41).

D. The Role of the Writer

What these values should do is to create a literature that is unfettered by contemporary socio-political detail. This, according to Kalyan Chatterjee, should be the defining characteristic of Melanesian literature. In a 1985 article on Kumalau Tawali's 1970 poetry collection. *Signs in the Sky,* Chatterjee noted that Tawali was Melanesian without being political about it. His language was a blend of "tok ples and Melanesian life philosophy with an ear sensitive to rhythm" (31). Tawali had managed, in Chatterjee's opinion, to use linguistic cadence, imagery, and theme to wonder at the strangeness and beauty of life. He quotes Tawali's views on art:

> If I make my poetry a servant of any political or ideological movement, I would be spoiling my inspiration and creativity. Politics cannot contain the poet. People must stay true to express themselves. (32)

Tawali, that arch crossover artist, was one of the first generation of writers and one of the most consistently productive. His views were similar to those of John Waiko, whose attraction to the Melanesian as superseding the colonial, or the narrowly political, was evident in the 1978 *READ* article, "The Political Responsibility of a Writer." In Waiko's opinion, a truly national literature could only emerge out of vernacular literature. Colonial experience had been of too short duration and of too shallow penetration to form the basis for a written literature. Waiko did not advocate a return to the old ways. None of the writers mentioned here did that. However, like Bernard Narokobi, he believed that whatever character the new structures in PNG would have, they would need to be informed by pre-colonial structures:

> I would like to see the new life of the national literature grafted on the vernacular literature so that the sap of the distinct flavour and colour as well as the contents of the rich traditions can flow and flourish in the emerging literature of this country. It is then and only then one can sound a call for an international literature. (1978, 24-25)

However, because the Melanesian Way had become so closely connected with the mission-based system, some PNG writers had difficulty associating themselves with it. The problem, of course, was that in choosing this literary system, a writer had to accomodate his work to Christian ideology. Not all writers wanted to burden their work with what had become a Christian political movement. If the writer could not see room for himself within that ideology, he was often shut out of publishing in PNG altogether (See Soaba's 1979 interview with Tiffin).[13]

E. The African Model

The cultural pride generated by the notion of the Melanesian was reinforced in the early days of decolonization by the black models introduced to PNG by change agents. Although some of these models were Afro-American and

Caribbean, the largest share were African. Both literary systems used Africa as a model for everything from language and literature, to education, economics, politics, and ethnic identity. Most of the change agents had either spent time in Africa during decolonization there, or had studied the African example. As is natural under the circumstances, most change agents tried to transfer the African experience to PNG. The means of transfer was the change agents themselves: their attitudes, beliefs, ideas, plans, and answers.

Although by the late 1960s many of the ideals of African independence were tarnished by actual experience, those ideals had genuine romantic appeal to change agents. One of the most popular of these was the Tanzanian model of Ujamaa, the African socialist middle ground, based on the tradition of village and community. Tanzanian socialism appealed especially to mission workers. It was a national, political model that focussed on the rural poor. It was more useful as an example than the Israeli Kibbutz or the Chinese commune because of its racial and colonial parallel to PNG. But it was also appealing to PNG churches because of the long history of Christian missions in Africa.[14] The African mission information network was extraordinarily well-organized. As the Bays and CCC examples demonstrate, the missions understood the power of communication links and knew how to use them to advantage. If there were lessons to be learned from Africa, the likelihood was that mission workers had every access to them.

As a result, the pages of PNG mission publications were full of explanations of the Ujamaa model. It was a direct attempt to lobby for (or at least reinforce) a Melanesian identity and corresponding social and political institutions. A good example of this advocacy work is Kevin Barr's 1975 *Catalyst* article, "Ujamaa: African Socialism -- A Tanzanian Model." In it, Barr was careful to point out that indigenous structures could be created that avoided the excesses of communism and capitalism; that prevented the formation of an indigenous elite; and that maintained traditional values. As proof of the appeal socialism had for Africans, Barr cited works by African leaders Léopold Sedar Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Kenneth Kaunda on the subject. Furthermore, Barr noted that because Ujamaa rejected communism, it also rejected atheism. A better philosophy, tailor-made for Christian propagandists of the Melanesian Way, could hardly be found.

"African" ideals were made flesh in the persons of change agents, whose next stop after the decolonization of Africa was PNG. In 1971, Joyce Chaplin published "Let's Get Together" in *READ*, an article offering her experiences with African Christian Press (ACP) in the 1960s as a model for group writing techniques in PNG. Chaplin's point was that missionaries could act as catalysts to create indigenous fiction that was meaningful on a broad scale. One of the examples she provided was the book *Alone in the City*. Chaplin had written to a friend in Lagos and had asked her to write down some of the problems a girl would encounter on moving to the city for work. She then brought the list to her writing group in Dar-es-Salaam and the result was *Alone*, plus a sequel, *Ani Opens her Purse*. According to Chaplin, these books and others produced in this way sold as many as 25,000 copies in countries all over Africa.

She urged her PNG audience to consult the African titles as models for writing in PNG.

PNG missionaries not only read the ACP titles, they translated them into Pidgin. *Alone in the City* (ACP, 1969) became *Ani i Stap Wanpis Long Biktaun* (Kristen Pres, 1976). Similarly the African *Manua the Unsteady Man* was translated by Les Loader as *O Muhi!* (Christian Books Melanesia, 1973). This was a frequent early practice among missionaries in the colony. In the absence of PNG writers, missionaries simply converted African experience into PNG experience, using Pidgin. In some cases, care was taken to make the text seem local. For *O Muhi!*, a local artist was hired to "translate" the African images. In the case of the *Bus Dokta Piksa Stori* cartoon series, the speech balloons were filled with Pidgin dialogue, but PNG children were left to puzzle over giraffes, monkeys, and Jesus in an African hippo pool.[15]

Part of the early repertoire of texts in the mission-based system, then, was written by the missionaries themselves. Part of it was modeled on (or actually appropriated from) African publications. These latter were the texts most laden with Christian exempla. That is, they relied on a transferrable ideology and the change strategies that had worked in similar circumstances.

The question is -- did the African model take? Was there an African model in the first place? There was certainly no equivalent to Ujamaa in PNG. And although there was early interest in African models, the literary inheritance was limited. Many SIL publications were modeled on ACP publications and were, in some cases, simply translations. Whether or not there has developed a specifically African Christian style is doubtful. Too many of the texts appeared to be lifted -- plot, characterization, theme, illustration -- entirely from one experience to the other: that is, with the assumption that the unifying Christian theme applied to a generalized third world black experience would suffice. But a detailed comparison of ACP/SIL publications might reveal otherwise. What, for instance, was not transferred or translated? Were there issues, local traditions and mores that were deemed inapplicable to the PNG scene. Did certain texts sell better in one country than in the other? As no research has ever been conducted in this area, it would be foolish to surmise.

As far as creative writing was concerned, Glen Bays was not interested in transferring models. As his syllabus indicates, he exposed his students to the same African writers modeled at UPNG. He tried to give his students a taste of world literature as well as the new literature from their own country. But African writing was presented as one model among many and was certainly not backed up by the entire European avant-garde. Bays' focus was on writing skills and feelings of self-worth, as his 1972 *Precept* article, "Creative Writing: The Road to New Life," demonstrates. Like Beier, Bays was concerned with cultural re-construction and identity formation. Unlike Beier, Bays did not transmit anger and indignation. The following passage indicates the difference in tone. It clearly states that colonial practices were/are wrong, but moves beyond them to correct injustice:

> You know, an interesting thing happened to me the other day. I was asked to go to a primary school, a dual curriculum school. I was asked to give the teachers some help in their creative writing classes. There were eight teachers at that school, four white and four Niuginians. When I got there, whom did I see? Four whites. No Niuginians. I said to the headmaster, 'Where are the Niuginian teachers?' He said, 'We don't have creative writing for the Niuginians.' And I said, 'Why not?' He said, 'Well, we'll start it.' You see? Here is where the whole superior-inferior thing begins. Here you see why one group learns to read and write and one doesn't. From the start they are taught differently. (3)

Bays was flexible enough to understand that in a new location he must adapt to conditions around him. Because of this, his African experience served as a general background, but his focus was on PNG. He quotes Apisai Enos and Vincent Eri in order to urge his student-authors to develop a distinctively PNG literature in form and content.

The mission experience with an African model was therefore mixed. For some it was a simple matter of transfer; for others it became a matter of translation. For Glen Bays, at least, it was a useful referent among others. As far as creative writing was concerned, the Bays' influence and the continuing participation of the mission-based writers in government-sponsored cultural institutions meant that PNG oral culture predominated over the African written texts. But Christian ideology predominated over any secular setting. If one were to search for literary models in this system, Christian genres would most likely be found to organize the shape and the content of its repertoire.[16]

NOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. As this is not a detailed study of the many faces of the self-help movement, I will use the catch-phrase, "self-help." As a general term it is meant to loosely encompass social organizations like cargo cults, micro-nationalist movements, development associations, community groups, independent churches, and the like. For a full discussion of the differences among and development of these popular associations, see Rolf Gerritson et al. (1981); Sam Kaima (1987, 1989); and Sione Latukefu (1981).

2. Latukefu details the direct route by which the political leaders of the tribe became the political leaders of the village churches, and how their sons became the first UPNG graduates and often the originators of the early parties. The process is a traceable, straight path from pre-contact structures to the halls of independent power (*Point* 1 [1981]: 30-55).

3. R.J. May notes that the garden was begun but was shortlived (1981, 66).

4. Copies of the 8 Aims and National Goals are available from various sources. In this instance, I am referring to reprints in *Point* 9 (1986): xi-xiv.

5. These speeches have been summarized in *PNGW* 12 (1973): 13.

6. Arthur Jawodimbari, the first director of the newly-formed NTC in 1977, became acting director of the NCC in 1983/4, and director from 1985.

7. This is the latest of a series of moves which has relentlessly folded one institution after another into larger and larger umbrella institutions. The Literature Bureau activities were placed within IPNGS; the Educational Research Unit (ERU) and IPNGS were absorbed into the Institute for Applied Social and Economic Research (IASER); and finally IASER into NRI. In 1993 the new government dismantled the Tourism Department to create the Tourism Development Corporation. No one knows what will become of cultural interests now. As the process continues, the individual journals of the various institutes are often discontinued, to be replaced by umbrella journals meant to

deal with the concerns of the original and separate journals: for example, *PNGW* was replaced by *Gigibori* and *Oral History*; *Gigibori* and *Oral History* by *Bikmaus*; *Bikmaus* is itself now to be replaced by a new journal (Lahui interview 1993).

8. Kolia published four books of verse parody and satire privately under Aklat publications and several plays; numerous plays were produced on NBC and staged by theatre companies.

9. Jack Lahui has told me that the articles in 7.4 (1987) are on the subject of copyright. The issue has been ready for press for some years. He still hopes to publish it, even though the journal replacing *Bikmaus* (which may be called *Timeline*) is due for release (Interview 1993).

10. *Liklik Buk* was well-known in Africa and was even translated into Swahili by the government of Tanzania.

11. Note the similarity to the Literature Bureau's practice of paying for contributions. In both cases, payment was advertised as a reason to write.

12. This crossover of mission-based agents into the purview of the university highlights again the need for a thorough study of the role of Australian publishers in the PNG literary systems.

13. The ideological barrier aside, the chasm between the two systems began to narrow considerably in the late 1970s when the national unity theme of *PNGW* was replaced by the cultural reconstruction theme of IPNGS. It narrows even further in the 1980s when UPNG's Literature Department largely dropped its former anti-colonial mood.

14. I don't mean to imply here that the church interest in self-help derived solely from Ujamaa. The Lutherans had definite nineteenth century folk-movement models from Europe to draw from. Besides this, the shadow of Paulo Freire was a distinct factor. And, among the Catholics, the rhetoric of Liberation Theology was strongly persuasive.

15. These cartoons were printed and published by SIL and by Lotu Pasifika. They are translations of Paul White's *Bush Doctor* series. The titles I am referring to are *Manki i pas long tais* and *Swit na Saua Hippo*.

16. I believe the African influence in this and the other system to have been only transitory and tied to certain decolonizing agents. Very little is mentioned any more of Africa in either system.

CHAPTER FIVE

LITERATURE AND DECOLONIZATION II:
THE UNIVERSITY

I. UNIVERSITY THEMES: ANTI-COLONIALISM AND CULTURAL INTEGRITY

A. The Role of Wantoks

When Bernard Mouralis writes of selective imposition of European cultural models in colonies, he also suggests that colonialism met with selective reception. It is Mouralis' way of understanding the reciprocal relationships that occurred within colonial sub-culture. Selective reception is most evident in PNG society in the continuing presence and power of the *wantok* system -- a complex structure of family support and obligation that has successfully resisted many of the disruptive effects of colonialism. According to Glen Bays (interview 1993) the relatively short period of colonialism in PNG and the restricted geographic area over which colonialism exerted active control contributed to a less fractured social system than those he had encountered while working in Zambia. To the strength of *wantok* he attributes the relative lack of animosity toward western culture during decolonization in PNG, as compared to the very strong reactions which often occurred in Africa.

The strength or erosion of *wantok* in PNG certainly follows patterns of contact, explains attitudes toward the colonizer, and clarifies specific developments in education and politics during decolonization. Before Europeans arrived on the coast of PNG, the indigenous peoples enjoyed a society with few class distinctions and little formal political or religious organization. The arrival of missionary educators fundamentally changed that world. Since the coastal areas were so accessible, western educators gained rapid ground there. As a consequence, coastal peoples advanced further and faster in colonial society than did peoples from other regions. What the education system had done was to create an educated elite based on geography. The best schools and facilities were to be obtained in coastal areas. Eventually most colleges and both universities would be established there. Proximity to school was certainly a major factor in the high percentage of high school attendance for coastal peoples, but so was proximity to extended family. This convenience did not (and still does not) obtain for highlanders, who had further to go to school and had therefore less support for students living away from home.

Nevertheless, the cultural ambivalence among the coastal elite created by such close contact with Europeans was severe. The most assimilated of all the people of PNG, they were also the most resentful. The resulting tensions are clearly demonstrated in the early days of the university when arguments over cultural models tilt between advocates of Afro-American-style black power and exponents of the Melanesian Way. But no matter which position these students espoused, their very existence as an educated elite constituted a new fact in PNG. They held a hitherto unheard of balance of power in the colony. They wrote, they performed, they led strikes and demonstrations, they influenced policy and practice in schools and elsewhere. They were the new leaders and everyone knew it.

As the first of these students completed their undergraduate degrees in 1970, they would accede to senior positions in government and would retain these after Independence, giving preferential positions in turn to their *wantoks* and thus tipping the balance of power firmly to coastal peoples at all levels of PNG society. In addition, the allegiance certain members of this elite had struck within the Administrative College would constitute its own sort of *wantok* system that would shape the real power of politics and administrative life in the country for the next two decades.

B. Black Power

The keen sense of purpose among the first generation of university writers was defined in part by the affinities they could see between their own experiences and those of other black writers. The nucleus of this angry energy was located in the Black Power group formed on the UPNG campus in 1970. The core of this 12 person membership lay in Ulli Beier's drama group, principally Arthur Jawodimbari, John Waiko, John Kasaipwalova, and Leo Hannet (K. Powell 1979, 37). In the group's *Nilaidat* manifesto of 1971, Hannet wrote that he had begun thinking about forming the group after a racial incident following a West Irian demonstration. The colony's apartheid-like social order had never been openly addressed by university students. Black Power made it its business not only to protest, but to put forth a political and social action plan to change the situation. Black Power's first political act occurred at Hohola, a denunciation of the Public Order Bill. The organization was condemned by whites as anti-European and by members of

Moral Rearmament [read Kumalau Tawali] as "opposed to genuine national development" (41).

Hannet explained that the group used the title Black Power generically, not in rank imitation of American militant groups, but as an assertion of black pride and cultural integrity. Its reading of Fanon, Cleaver, and Freire led members to define themselves as oppressed, but also to be chary of neo-colonial leadership. Accordingly they expressed their anti-colonialism through the poetry of Kasaipwalova (especially in his *Reluctant Flame*), but kept themselves aloof from the Somare government.

In March 1971, Black Power made a submission to a visiting UN mission demanding immediate political, economic and social change in the colony. They wanted an all-black House of Assembly and self-government by 1972. The Niuginian spokesman at the UN was to be directly responsible to the House of Assembly and not to Canberra. Citizenship in the new country was to be open to all indigenes with special status available to others. As far as the economy was concerned, Black Power wanted all foreign investment to be regulated in Niugini; all mineral rights to be nationalized; and conditions placed on foreign aid so that it would be primarily designated for rural development. As for eduation, Black Power wanted to remove English as a standard for university instruction. Black Power's reliance on Paulo Freire's thought and the later parallel reliance on Freire that took place in the framing of the *8 Aims* is important to note here. It pre-figures Kasaipwalova's 1976 comments during the Writers Conference that if the country would only follow the *8 Aims*, most inequity and conflict would be eliminated.

Kirsty Powell observed that although Black Power was a very small minority on campus, its voice was heard by all; many of their demands were accepted or implemented. What had seemed radical in the early 1970s had become common assumption or practice by the end of the decade (1979, 37). What is particularly interesting about Hannet's manifesto is the similarity it bears to Bernard Narokobi's declaration of the Melanesian Way. Self-assertion and self-criticism based on Melanesian values underline both proposals. And, although critical of the Christian church's involvement with colonialism, neither writer rejected the religion itself. Both strove to accommodate both indigenous and imposed cultures.[1] Stating that western education had alienated the younger generation, Hannet declared that tribalism should form the basis of nation-building and animism the basis of spirituality.

If the "radicals" were so temperate, what about the rest of the student body? Although student protest and riot were regular features of the 1970s in PNG, observers of the period consistently remark on the conservative nature of the students as a whole. In 1968, Gilbert's survey of the student population of UPNG revealed that 45% were children of mission employees and 20% were children of government employees. All professed some denominational affiliation and 70% attended church once each week. Most students rejected the notion that PNG should have independence within five years; most thought 15 years would be a more reasonable time frame. Their fear, it seems, was that too rapid movement toward Independence might mean violence.

The only distinct split Gilbert could find in their politics was that the Papuans among them favoured becoming a seventh state of Australia, while the New Guineans favoured Independence. Gilbert's survey responses were borne out in the ways students approached politics. Student upheavals tended not to be anti-colonial, but rather to be focussed on inadequate housing and food services at the university, or on specific policies and practices of the interim government. An August 1973 *PIM* article, for example, reports that after a football riot in July between Papuan and Niuginian rival groups, UPNG students came from as far as 10 miles away to calm tribesmen.

Kirsty Powell has written that besides the members of Black Power, the most politically involved students at this time were white (27ff). With the exception of John Kasaipwalova's wife, Linda, there was almost no political involvement by black female students, so white women tended to dominate the social and sexual relations of the "committed" group on campus. As Powell has outlined, the mostly white Women's Liberation Group was formed at the same time as Black Power.

> An ironically close relationship developed between the two groups, and a few joint political and social meetings were held. There was a shared sense of belonging to an opposed group, shared intellectual interests...and a shared capacity to live intensely. (28)

At the same time, Powell reminds us that in such a small segregated colonial society as that in PNG, sexual relations between black men and white women constituted the last taboo and were therefore a logical magnet for the radical young playwrights of the era. Powell noted that none of this immediate experience became part of contemporary literature, with the exception of the white woman as sexual object in Kasaipwalova's *Reluctant Flame*. Instead PNG university literature vented its anti-colonial frustrations on the stock white "missus" figure. Similarly the authoritarian white "masta" and the white man who compromises a black girl were regular characters of university-based writing. But the equality and friendship between black and white men, which was a daily facet of the writers' experience at UPNG, never appeared in literary texts (30).

Part of student anti-colonial writing was a rejection of the nationalism bandwagon. In their view, nationalism was another aspect of colonialism. Many students refused to wave flags or participate in National Days. The university-based writers who participated in *Kovave* did not generally submit manuscripts to *PNGW* or to the Literature Competitions. Instead of developing national loyalties, they relied on regional groups on campus and especially on *wantoks* (K. Powell 1979, 25-26).

C. The African Model

The history of the Papuan and New Guinean colonies is characterized by a continual backward glance at Africa. For nearly a century, secular and church authorities alike used their prior experience in or knowledge of African colonial history as the basis for policy and practice in PNG. Thus the sponge-like ability of UPNG to absorb decolonizing agents straight from Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana in the late 1960s follows a path already established by both the Administration and the missions.[2] For the first flight of university students this exposure to the self-assertion and success of African writers and leaders was overwhelming. In their History, Economics, Literature, Linguistics, and Sociology classes they were bombarded with one African model after another -- from Achebe to Fanon to Ujamaa.

Not only did this anti-colonial parade generate enthusiasm in university students, it tended to temporarily skew the registration numbers in certain university departments. Ulli Beier's presence certainly made Literature a popular discipline for the first five years. But after he left, as Jack Lahui wryly comments, the Department got back to "normal": i.e., 5-6 students per year (Lahui interview).[3]

By the end of the 1970s, PNG students had tired of all the African models. However, the colonial analogies were still strong enough to affect Ben Nakin and Steve Winduo when they attended the first World Black Literature Conference in Brisbane in 1986. Nakin and Winduo learned how much had been achieved by African writers and came to understand how important writers' unions, copyright laws, and worldwide distribution systems[4] had been for them. Africa continued to serve a normative function in other areas as well (Nakin 1986; Winduo 1986). As late as 1987, G. Powell's review of the inability of PNG writing to establish a solid audience at home complained that African literature was at least on the syllabus in African public schools. Whereas the PNG government had not yet seen fit to follow suit, at the cost, in Powell's opinion, of an indigenous literature (15).

What was this model and what was its effect on PNG literature? In the first place, it is important to remember that, because Beier purposely limited the scope of literature teaching in PNG, university students were exposed to an extremely small, yet highly coherent number of texts. Their non-African reading consisted mainly of European modernism. Their African reading, while it included a folkloric component, was centred on anti-colonialism. This was the most exciting material they had ever encountered in English. The fact that these iconoclastic works undermined the structures of colonialism using the language of colonial authority itself was not lost on them. English therefore suggested itself to them as an ideological tool; as a result they applied it only to serious subjects, to social realism and to political rhetoric. Pidgin, their own language, was reserved for satire (Krauth 1978b, 48). This tradition of using Pidgin to laugh at colonialism or at PNG society had a history, as K. Powell writes. Pidgin had been used as "underground" satire directed against the Australian Administration for decades, in impromptu drama throughout the colony (1979, 72ff).

The ease and comfort with which the PNG writer used Pidgin was never matched by his use of English. As Beier (1979, 77) and Singh (1983b) have complained, there was a reticence to indigenize the colonial language. The result was often a stilted school-boy English that failed to frame the content in fresh metaphor, local imagery, and the like. Beier makes a point of comparing this tentative grasp of English with the mastery shown by Nigerian writers, for example. Nor did PNG writers tend to adopt the genres in which African writing was presented to them. The booklists for the first decade of literature teaching at UPNG were dominated by African novels, short stories, and folklore, with the addition of some negritude poetry. But the favoured genres of Beier's students were drama and verse. For one thing, there were fewer publishing outlets for long prose. For another, authors had no copyright protection. Writers preferred to write short pieces for which they would obtain immediate payment rather than risk a collection, or a novel which would likely lose money anyway. Drama was especially appealing because PNG had a well-established radio drama programme as well as numerous active theatre companies. PNG audiences enjoyed drama and supported it well.

Nevertheless, particular works and authors had a major impact on PNG writers. Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is the most often quoted influence on PNG narrative and Okot p'Bitek's *Song of Lawino* on PNG verse. Oyono's *Houseboy* and *The Old Man and the Medal* were also influential as was the poetry of Césaire and Senghor. The one Afro-American text repeatedly cited was Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* (an inspiration for *Reluctant Flame*). The African writers and titles listed here hardly represent the most extreme anti-colonial stance. Neither were these influences heavily folkloric. They suggest a middle ground between the two poles which, as K. Powell claimed, seemed to cover most of the writing produced during this period (See K. Powell 1979; Krauth 1978b; Sharrad; Schild).

Ulli Beier noted two areas where African and PNG writing differed. Beier claimed that negritude never did develop as an aesthetic-political force in PNG because the writers were so close to their villages. Therefore, the first four or five years of PNG literary history focussed on conflict themes, but diffused after Independence to more diverse themes of self-criticism. Since these young men were not drawn together in a café halfway across the world with other similarly stranded and homesick young men, Beier saw no reason for a negritude-like movement to develop (1975b, 307). In other words the cultural revival theme in PNG was, in Beier's opinion, a practical and necessary, not a romantic, invention. Tied as it was to research projects conducted by IPNGS, cultural revival in PNG remained rooted in the verifiable and the retrievable.

The second major difference Beier noted between the English-language literatures of Africa and PNG was in the tone of intercultural relationships. The *kiap* (patrol officer) of the Australian Administration was not equivalent to the British Colonial Officer. The Australian kiap was routinely portrayed in PNG drama and verse as a foul-mouthed, unsympathetic bully. He had a direct and often abusively physical relationship with islanders (e.g. Tawali's poem "The Bush Kanaka Speaks"). Consequently, the kiap often took the full brunt of anti-colonial anger. According to Beier, the patrol officers were recruited directly from secondary school, often with no other training. By way of contrast, the British Colonial Officer had to have a university degree and generally a course in Anthropology or economics before being assigned a position of authority. The officer might be distant, cold and rule-bound, but seldom did he play such a chaotic or threatening role in the daily lives of Africans. The differences in the character portrayal of authority figures are therefore striking, as are the means of redressing colonial wrongs (Beier 1975b).

K. Powell noted another significant difference between African and PNG texts: the reluctance of PNG writers to use missionary characters as the butt of anti-colonial rhetoric. There is a distinct absence of such characters in PNG literature. Powell attributed this tendency to the fact that most of the early writers were of the "manse." However, she added that the generally positive attitude toward Christianity (if not to individual sectarian practices or personnel) was equally important (K. Powell 1979, 13).

If PNG writers did not indigenize English as Nigerians had done; if they did not adopt the anti-colonial novel or the poetry of negritude; if their approach to Administration officials and missionaries differed so greatly from the African, is there an African model at all for university-based PNG writing? Aside from early imitations of a few individual writers there is no sustained linguistic, generic, thematic influence in PNG writing from the African. K. Powell felt that when Beier left, the influence left with him (1979, 47). Certainly, he was directly responsible for bringing such writers as p'Bitek, Omotoso, Soyinka, Olusola, and Liyong to PNG. But the African writers themselves refused to serve as models. In a *PNGW* article, p'Bitek expressed interest in PNG literature, but remained distant from the adulatory excesses of Jack Lahui, the interviewer. p'Bitek's advice to PNG writers was to write from their own experience, not from *his* writing (1976, 12-13). On the other hand, at the 1976 Writers Conference, K. Omotoso advised PNG writers to write for their society; he saw the writer as spokesman for the oppressed and disadvantaged. John Kaniku disagreed. He felt writers must write for themselves if their art was to survive (1976, 18-19). In fact, many PNG writers disagreed with Omotoso, as Goodwin's Conference report makes clear.

Ulli Beier never intended the panorama of African accomplishments to which he exposed his PNG writers to serve as a model for imitation. His interests were more interactional and experimental than that. The African was presented as a example of what existed in similar but not identical circumstances. What he was interested in was a cross-fertilization of new writing, not the cloning of African aesthetics:

> I exhibited Nigerian artists in PNG and PNG artists in Nigeria....I brought a Nigerian theatre producer to the first arts festival in PNG in 1970....Nigerians took great interest and paid for the PNG contingent to attend the Black Arts Festival in Lagos and they gave substantial support to the IPNGS. (1979, 77)

That several PNG writers -- Matane, Jawodimbari, Sukwianomb -- visited and studied in Africa is evidence of the interest islanders had in African experience. But, in the end, the African model served mainly as an inspiration. Russell Soaba felt that the spirit of Africa was what he carried away from Beier's courses (K. Powell 1979, 39). In both the Bays and Beier classes, Africa had not been imposed as much as evoked. Both teachers wanted to leave their students room to make their own unique literary way.

D. Silent Writers and Ambiguous Roles

Creative writing has never actually come to a thudding halt in PNG. But there have been periods when the energy of one generation of writers has given way before it was replaced by the energy of the next. There have been times when publishing programmes were not sustained, or when expat literary advocates were not replaced. At such times it seemed that writing itself had failed. That these rhythms should exist in any literary system seems predictable and acceptable. But their occurrence in a burgeoning literary system, with no proven history and with few supporting institutional structures, can occasion gut-wrenching self-condemnation. What is wrong with our writers, the newspapers ask. Have they no commitment? Recriminations multiply. Lack of literary production is laid at the door of every actant position of the system and often several outside it. The "silence" is treated as moral laxity of the worst order.

There were three periods of "silence" within those first two decades of writing. The first was associated with two events: the departure of Glen Bays, accompanied by the collapse of CTC; and the departure of Beier, followed by the graduation of the first UPNG writers, many of whom went into politics, the public service, business, or regional self-help movements.[5] This silence was addressed directly by Taban lo Liyong and others at the 1976 Writers Conference. The second apparent lull in PNG writing also coincided with two events: the drastic cuts to government cultural spending at the end of the decade and the near destruction of the Literature Department and its subsequent struggle for survival in the early 1980s. This period was highlighted by Bernard Minol and by Kumalau Tawali in their 1980 *Times* articles. The third silence occurred at the end of the 1980s with the failure of every literary journal in the country and the crumbling of the Writers Union. As the third period of silence lies outside the parameters of this study, the discussion will focus on the first two silences. Principally, it will note the implications of these silences for the role of both writer and critic in PNG.

Liyong wanted the 1976 Writers Conference to stir things up on the PNG literary scene. He invited all the Beier writers plus several Africans he knew in an attempt to kickstart a new phase in PNG literature. At the Conference and in "Let's be a Little Less Serious," he proclaimed that the African model had outlived its usefulness in PNG. There had been safety in anti-colonial themes and folkloric rescue missions, but protest and history could not sustain a literature. He pointed to the shallow nature of PNG writing -- an elitist product that few read or understood. Liyong called for a reunion of the Bulls and the Apostles[6] in order to re-kindle the literary fires of the Beier years (Liyong in Goodwin 169). Then he pointed to the vibrant market in PNG for comics and urged PNG's writers to take up their pens again, but this time in the service of the popular: somehow they must occupy the space between the textbook and Spiderman.

Liyong was most anxious that writers dissociate themselves from the Ministry of Education and other governmental institutions involved in the literary system:

> We have the *PNGW* which rewrites writers' efforts and turns out simple stories in empeccable [sic] English. Whatever linguistic idiosyncracies the authors had as part of their personality the authors competition pieces look lackluster when they appear in print. (1976, 5)

In addition, Liyong upbraided authors for their lack of commitment: PNG literature looked healthy until 1972, but that was only because it had been anthologized to death. One of the goals he had set was to form a writers union at the end of the Conference. But in this enterprise Liyong had little success. He was speaking to the wrong people -- the writers who had already left the craft.

Ironically, Liyong had as his model for the 1976 Conference the seminars run by the East Africa Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs. From December 3-6, 1965, for instance, the Institute had conducted a seminar to survey and debate cultural issues. The agenda looks like a mirror of the problems facing PNG only 10 years later: the need for governmental assistance for publication, especially in the vernaculars; collection of oral material; teaching in local languages; direct governmental grants to established authors; introduction of literature to the school syllabus; increased production of elementary school texts in the vernacular; support for an indigenous publishing industry ("Document" *EAJ* December 1965). The difference for Liyong in 1976 was that, as Chair of the Literature Department, he was part of institutional structures that supported the shadow system at the university. It was difficult for him to step back from the very process he complained of.

As a follow-up to the 1965 seminar, *EAJ* ran a series of articles, heated letters, withering responses, and scholarly debates over the course of the next year. All of this imposed rhetoric had been occasioned by Liyong's December 1965 article, "Can We Correct the Literary Barrenness in East Africa." That article looks like a rehearsal for his position at the 1976 Conference. He complained of the prosaic and predictable nature of East African literature: re-writings of fables, biographies, and anti-colonial themes (hardly Ulli Beier's fault, this time). East African literature could not progress, he argued, until English had been indigenized and East African writing had been included in the curriculum. Local bookshops would have to carry local writing. The university would have to train writers and be more rigorous in providing adult education. The Education Department ought to have literature sections; radio and TV should be co-opted to distribute the indigenous literature. Literature Competitions, writers clubs, and drama festivals should be organized (5-13). Lyndon Harris responded in May 1966 that there *was* indigenous writing in Swahili if Liyong and other members of the elite would care to recognize it. In the same issue, Sheldon Weeks (who later moved to PNG to become a key change agent in UPNG's Department of Education) chided Liyong for his anti-colonial hysteria. If writing had languished in East Africa, the fault lay not with the British, but with the dearth of professional writers (1966). Liyong's rebuttal appeared in the June issue.

The whole question of a literary drought was discussed during a Roundtable in March 1966. Ezekiel Mphahlele, Gerald Moore, Okot p'Bitek, and R. Neogy (editor of *EAJ*) participated

(Mphahlele). There was serious disagreement over whether a drought existed at all. Moore specifically commented that there was undoubtedly little writing in English: just two novels by Ngugi, but no volume of poetry, and only a few duplicated plays. On the other hand there was a thriving literature in the vernaculars, supported to a large extent by the East Africa Literature Bureau. Even more interestingly, Moore suggested that the definition of "literature" might eventually be altered to accommodate the popular use of language and form in East Africa:

> popular journalists in Swahili, people such as football critics who are continually inventing new forms of language and words to describe aspects of football. (Qtd. in Mphahlele 15)

The debate on the pages of *EAJ* continued over the next two years. This argument culminated in more than re-definition. In January 1968, Bren Hughes discussed the differing norms at work in the whole question of a literary vacuum. In his view, African writers did not naturally analyze or criticize. In fact the whole notion of social commitment was an alien notion that emanated from white change agents themselves. What white critics saw as a dereliction of the artist's duty, then, was nothing more than a feature of an imposed European value system. As a central figure in this whole debate, Liyong had seen it and said it all before.

But his African experience did not mean he would be successful in 1976. Ken Goodwin remarks more than once on the fruitless efforts expended by Liyong in trying to artificially restore the original momentum established by the Beier group.

But the writers themselves had very definite ideas of their roles and responsibilites within the literary systems. As early as 1972 Apisai Enos had articulated what was to be his consistent opinion. He complained of the haste of "rush-produced films and books, many of which in themselves are superficial and misleading" (46). The transitional literature (that is, literature used as a political weapon) of the Beier school was, in his mind, only reaffirming people's ideas. It did not create new ideas, perceptions, or realities. In other words, it did not accomplish the primary purpose of art, which was to effect real change (47). Enos felt that both the technologies and message of art had to be made indigenous or it would remain only an adjunct to PNG society. This meant indigenizing English or dropping it in favour of vernaculars. It meant abandonning writing as the technology of art, if there continued to be no reading public. Tapes and records should be employed instead. Finally art that fostered uniformity in the cause of national unity was destructive and should be avoided. Like John Waiko, Enos believed the strength of his country lay in the very diversity which threatened many politicians.

Enos' view of the writer as an agent of change from within the culture was echoed by John Kasaipwalova. In 1971 Kasaipwalova rejected the artificial preservation of indigenous culture as a basis for writing. In his view the writer was not apart from, but a part of, the natural dynamics of his own society:

> The most obvious qualitative difference between the 'reconstructed culture' and the continuous transformation of the present which I am advocating, is that the former strives to achieve a fallacious perfect state, while the

> latter engages human creativity, without goals and values having already been defined and set by cultural custodians. (16)

Indeed Kasaipwalova practised what he preached. After leaving Port Moresby in 1972 for the Trobriands, he established the Sopi Arts School on Kiriwina. It was an adaptation of a "traditional aesthetic concept for the creation of a Modern Art School" (Murphy 1980, 2). Eventually Kasaipwalova began to write again, but this time using the Kesawaga, an indigenous ballet, as the basis for a series of modern dramas.[7] Because of his synthetic view of art, Kasaipwalova would not see the silence in writing as a threat or a failure. Writing was simply not an appropriate activity for him at the time. At the 1976 Conference he said the 12 Apostles could see in 1971 that Independence was a given. They felt it was now time to put into practice what they had learnt at university by re-building their devastated cultures.

Ulli Beier himself saw no particular problem in writers becoming community workers. In his 1975[8] IPNGS Discussion Paper, "The Artist's Struggle," he uses Kasaipwalova's return to the Trobriands to found Kabisawali as an analogy to the work of the Chicago Muralists and the Nigerian Sign Writers. It was a natural inclusion of art within the community. What is more, Beier saw the twentieth century dislocation of the artist from the traditional as a positive thing. It opened the artist up to experimentation and freed him from the rigid conventions of the past. Yet in his 1976 Conference paper, Beier regretted that PNG writers had not moved past the early anti-colonialism to engage more contemporary issues in PNG society. If their art was to develop, he felt it needed to draw its energy from the world around it. Beier also was speaking to the wrong crowd. The very few committed writers of the original shadow system were otherwise engaged or had other priorities.

Nigel Krauth's assessment of the role of the writer, highlights yet another face of the writer as change agent. Using Kumalau Tawali as his example, Krauth discusses the writer as interpreter between the old ways and the new. In Tawali's *Signs in the Sky*, Krauth sees the poet as critical of both cultures, yet attracted to both, learning from both, but finally seeing the world through traditional eyes (1977, 18). In Krauth's view, the early writers wrote as outsiders. Gradually poets like Enos (*High Water* 1971), Tawali and Kama Kerpi (*Call of Midnight Bird* 1973) were able to assume an interpretive role and just as gradually begin to centre their imagery on, and draw their energy from, the village. In this "going home" Krauth argued, lay the seeds of the future. The poets were able finally to reconcile social commitment with personal experience (1977, 21).

If the PNG flirtation with anti-colonial writing was a sporadic and minor note, the re-orientation to an art that was truly indigenous has also understandably been stumbling and fitful. As John Kasaipwalova noted, Independence was assured almost as soon as writers took pen in hand. All power positions within the country were indigenized at the instigation of the colonial authority itself. There had been no censorship on writing. In fact, the governments and missions had instituted two entire literary systems by themselves. There was not much point to protest literature because all the kiaps had gone home.

What, then, were writers to do? By the close of the 1970s it was clear that writing in the service of nation-building had become redundant. Writers had served as messengers, interpreters, and community development workers. But, as Beier had argued in 1976, they had not yet set themselves the task of speaking the truth about their own world. In 1976 Greg Murphy had also urged the PNG writer to "be a prophet exploring the soul of his people" (1980, 7).

It is only with the beginning of the 1980s that writers begin to publicly muse over that challenge. They had been supported by public funds since the late 1960s. If they now criticized the government would there be any funds for cultural projects? In such a small insular country it was a crucial ethical dilemma. As it turned out, government funding was drying up anyway. But, with Independence achieved, writers still needed to re-define their function. Arthur Jawodimbari was quite clear about the role of the writer and the relationship that ought to exist between artist and government:

> We have a responsibility to the people of this nation as the conscience of this society. Instead of putting so much emphasis on oral tradition and cultural values, let us assess cultural transformation to ensure that it becomes compatible with modernisation. (1985)

Writers might be the conscience of society, but were they to render their services for nothing? The second literary silence was dominated not by personal recriminations or by soul-searching, but by harsh criticism of the literary system itself. When Ben Nakin returned from the Brisbane Black Literature Conference, he had concluded that writing had started too early in PNG -- that is, before there were any readers! He outlined a number of faults endemic to the system: problems with Australian publishers and subsidies; lack of copyright protection; no writers' union; use of a foreign language; no literary formation in public schools; no participation by women; and no indigenous criticism.

The most important result of this environment was that no writer could make a living in PNG. Kumalau Tawali's 1980 article, "Why PNG Writers Have Stopped Writing," faced this issue squarely. With no copyright law, many writers were holding manuscripts back from publication. Rather than trying to publish collections, he himself let out only one poem at a time so that he could be paid individually for them. On a personal level, Tawali offered his experience in publishing *Tribesman's Heartbeat* with Kristen Pres. To date he had not received a penny for it and had had no notice whether there would ever be a royalty on the book. His article ended with a plea to the Government to recognize the value of literature by establishing a National Publishing Company and by introducing vernacular literacy. If a veteran poet and editor with credibility in both literary systems, who was also Director of IPNGS, could not make money by writing, who could? His complaint was echoed by Bernard Minol that same year in "The Death of PNG Writing." Minol cited the lack of willing publishers and a reading public as the chief reasons for the collapse of writing. In addition (and his position within the Literature Department must be recalled here) he condemned the degeneration of UPNG into a manpower training institution as responsible for the failure of the Literature Department to support writers the way it had in the early 1970s.

The literary life of PNG was undergoing radical change on a number of levels and for a number of reasons. Re-evaluating the function of writers and readers was just the beginning. The role of the critic was next. There were relatively few indigenous critics for PNG literature or for newly-independent PNG society. Western critics lamented this lack of normative function in literature particularly. Into this void stepped John Kolia, the Australian who had become a naturalized PNG citizen in 1976. It is clear that Kolia was disliked yet tolerated by many. His caustic comments were rarely restricted to the safe realms of the anti-colonial and he was rarely silent. In letters, position papers, novels, plays and verse Kolia turned his accusing eye and his voluble tongue on everyone.

Kolia was not a good writer. His prose rambled, losing itself in digressions; his verse was self-indulgent and tedious. Yet he served a much-needed function that central change agents like Ulli Beier, Peter Trist, and Andrew Strathern understood. As long as John Kolia was writing drama, for instance, Ulli Beier did not need to pen another play under his own pseudonym, Lovori. Kolia cranked out dozens of polemical anti-colonial and historical plays, many of which were very popular, staged and re-staged, and broadcast on NBC. His work was regularly reviewed in *Bikmaus*.[9] The most noticeable aspect of these reviews is that they consisted mostly of juicy quotations from Kolia's contemporary political satire loosely strung together by short descriptions of Kolia's themes. It was obviously fun to do these reviews: the often anonymous reviewers could excerpt and publish bits of satire or parody that appealed to them.

But underlying the frivolous nature of the reviews was something much more serious. Kolia's role as "indigenous" critic was seen as crucial:

> A country like Papua New Guinea needs more sharp, critical and concerned literary insights that Kolia generously provided in his novels, short stories and plays for stage and radio. (Rev. of *Mixed Blessings*. *Bikmaus* 6.1 [1985]: 102)

Although not native, Kolia had assumed the native voice with a will. And, until homegrown critics of the PNG literary scene should appear, Kolia was slotted to fill a key normative function within the system.

Russell Soaba's 1984 interview with Kirpal Singh singled out Beier's approach as responsible for this lack of a critical tradition in PNG. In Soaba's view, European change agents were so interested in promoting literary production, that they never actually took time to evaluate the product. What was the point, he asked, in establishing Vincent Eri as a model for the PNG novel, when Eri never wrote another book and when *The Crocodile* had never been subjected to critical analysis (51). Moreover Soaba agreed with Ngugi that Third World writers were often at the mercy of amateur European literati. That is, drama production, book reviews, and critical essays became the purview of people who would never have such power in their own societies. The result was a great deal of self-aggrandizement and very little honesty. In Soaba's view, Nigel Krauth was the only honest critic PNG literature had. Without a sound indigenous critical establishment, Soaba could not see any progress for PNG literature as a whole. He cited the state of affairs as the reason he sought out foreign publishers and why he had stopped writing plays (1984, 54-56).

Ganga Powell argued much the same point as Soaba. She thought the problems in PNG literature stemmed from the partial institutionalization of the literary system. In the first place the use of a foreign language crippled writers. In the second, there was no critical foundation for PNG literature. She also pointed her finger at Ulli Beier in this instance. Beier had been too concerned that teaching Western literary norms and standards would inhibit PNG writers: "But this policy has led to a lack of standards as well as the lack of a strong critical tradition based on western poetics and aesthetics" (1984, 92).

In addition, Powell felt the literary system was incomplete because it was not rooted in indigenous philosophy. There had been an attempt to do so in 1980, but it was abortive. In that year UPNG had authorized Bernard Narokobi to offer, through the Philosophy Department, a programme of Melanesian Studies. However, as Ganga Powell reports, the project never became a reality because there were not enough Melanesian scholars schooled in Melanesian values to sustain it. Nevertheless, Powell was convinced that a Centre for Melanesian Studies would be a crucial step in establishing an indigenous literary system (1984, 93).

This decade-long dialogue amongst writers, teachers, publishers, and critics suggests that the shadow systems, which had existed largely as a function of decolonization, were crumbling. Most of the players in the systems were plagued by a sense of loss and even shame at their supposed mismanagement of an entire cultural scheme. Accustomed as they had become to the lightning speed of the decolonization process, this "normal" pace of re-adjustment and re-definition seemed a kind of death. But one of the most respected writers and cultural spokesmen of the period, Ignatius Kilage, believed otherwise. In a 1985 interview with *PNG Writer*, Kilage stated that, in his view, PNG was only just beginning to form up a national culture. He was sure that the process would take at least another decade. As it happened, Kilage was mostly right. The emergence in the mid 1980s of the *PNG Writer* and the first effective Writers Union were initial steps along that path.

E. The Writers Union

Attempts to form up a viable writers union in PNG had been many and largely unsuccessful. In the early 1970s Glen Bays had been able to find enough coherence within the mission-based system to create CWAMEL. But the university-based system and the Literature Bureau consistently failed to find the same coherence. The earliest calls for a writers society outside the mission-based system originated with *PNGW*. In 6 (1972), as part of its self-appointed role as facilitator to the arts, *PNGW* extolled the virtues and purposes of a writers' society: to aid writers with copyright, fair payment, re-publication, and to bring writers together. The appeal was to professionalism, fellowship, and national spirit:

> a strong Writers Society will help bring all writers in this country together with a shared ideal and a common purpose. (It is hoped that a seminar will be held annually or every second year.) A Creative Writing Workshop, if organized in a main centre, should be a place for Papua New Guinea writers to come together for constructive and practical discussion. (20)

Anyone interested was to write to Jack Lahui at *PNGW*. The advertisement was issued again in 8 (1972) along with information about the UNESCO Copyright Information Centre. Although this call to form a society was within the realm of Literature Bureau activities, the two shadow systems had little need for it. The mission-based system had already organized CWAMEL. In fact the advertisement for the new Christian writers union appeared in that same issue of *PNGW*. The creative writing students at UPNG already had enough focus and co-ordination through Ulli Beier's guidance that a call for a writers' union organized through government channels can have had little appeal.

But there was indeed a need for non-aligned writers to protect and inform themselves. In 1974 the Literature Department took the initiative. Harvey Kail, a senior lecturer in literature, along with a number of students and interested others met at the university to form the Melanesian Writers Association. The list of originators is suggestive. The first president was Peter Kama Kerpi; Kail was secretary; Benjamin Umba and Geoff Naboam were on the executive committee. These were not writers who were of the privileged *Kovave* set. Some of them were not even UPNG students. All of them published in *PNGW* and at CCA. This tentative and short-lived attempt to organize is evidence of an incipient indigenous system groping toward some sense of identity and purpose. Interestingly, the impulse took root (or tried to) among people who felt comfortable crossing systemic borders.

The proposed Association clearly aimed to cut through the artificial divisions created by decolonization structures that were devoted to imported ideologies:

> the Association wishes to establish an appropriate environment in which writers can work. A writer cannot be shut out from society and be expected to produce good results. He needs to communicate, not only to his reader, but also to other writers. (13)

Not only did the Association value social relevance and communication, it highlighted the need for PNG writers to develop their own literary criticism:

> So far we have been getting quite a lot of criticism from overseas people, *expats* and such. Sometimes this criticism does not carry weight because they often see our literature from their outside point of view, rather than from the inside. (13)

Rather than promote publication for its own sake, the Association wanted to establish a screening committee to decide what might be publishable or not. Finally, the Association would fight for copyright protection. This concern with indigenous-based evaluation, matched with an interest in communal self-help was clearly a reaction to the editorial practices of *PNGW* and the elitism of *Kovave*. Operating outside the power structures of the two shadow systems, the Melanesian Writers Association had no access to the enabling financial links that would give it stability. It was no more successful than the Writers Society had been. Two years later, Taban lo Liyong, the new Literature Department Chair, organized the first PNG Writers Seminar. Ken Goodwin reported that Liyong pushed and prodded throughout the Seminar for a PNG Writers Association:

> he persisted with exhortation and advice until a small working group was formed. In all matters he tried to encourage others to lead; in none did he dominate or bully, but his vigilance and guidance were constantly needed to maintain a sense of purpose. (169)

In the end, Liyong had his way. In the wake of the Seminar came the first overt attempt to institutionalize a writers' union within the Literature Department itself and under the aegis of the NCC. A list of recommendations for future seminars appeared in *PNGW* 25 (1977). A comparison of these recommendations with the 1972 *PNGW* proposal for a writers society reveals a much stronger attempt to control literary life. The recommendations try to install as many systemic functions as possible within the Literature Department, by means of the Seminar. In sum, the recommendations urge that the Australian government and the NCC routinely fund creative writing and drama, leaving the mechanics of the literary system to the Literature Department. The Department would organize the biennial Writers Seminar, judge annual literary prizes, organize writers' visitations to outlying towns, co-operate with the Department of Education, and house a writers union with a full-time co-ordinator who would edit the Union periodical, called *Kanaka's Voice* (22). The journal never appeared and the union never materialized.

Liyong left PNG in 1977 and the whole notion of Writers Seminars and a writers union again languished. The university was going through a period of re-definition. Many felt it had degenerated to a supplier of technical personnel (Rudd 41; Minol 1980, n.p.; Beier 1979, 75). Money for literary projects dried up. The situation was truly depressing. *Kovave* stopped publishing in 1975; *PNGW* and *Gigibori* stopped in 1978. There were no periodical outlets for creative writing outside the mission-based system. Copyright legislation seemed no closer. The second generation of university-based writers had moved through the institution in the mid to late 1970s. PNG literary life had subsided into disillusion, once more.

1. *The PNG Writer*

The outfall from the 1980 South Pacific Festival of the Arts (SPFA) in PNG re-kindled the fires of literary enthusiasm. In 1982, the Department was able to finance *Ondobondo*, the first university-based literary magazine to appear in seven years. The sense of coherence and purpose among this group was strong. In 1985, UPNG student Regis Stella organized them into a writers' union. Looking at the success of similar African and Caribbean associations, Stella was primarily interested in the union's potential ability to lobby for copyright (*Ondobondo* 5 [1985]). In his opinion, writers were not producing because there was no protection for their creative work. He was most concerned with establishing publishing opportunities. There was still no indigenous publishing base for PNG writers. Those who approached Australian publishers soon discovered, as Australian writers had, that opportunities were limited there as well. Australian publishers in the early 1980s would only consider taking on local writers if the Australian Literature Board would subsidize the venture (Kenney 369).

Trading on the success of *Ondobondo* and on the tenth anniversary of Independence, the Writers Union was able to obtain financing from the National Literature Board, Elton Brash (then Vice-Chancellor of UPNG), and Pius Wingti (opposition leader in the House of Assembly). The money was intended to fund a periodical, *The PNG Writer*, which appeared in 1985. And the university had plans in 1986 for publishing an anthology of PNG verse, plus a collection of new short stories. The Union's first president was Michael Mel; its vice-president was Francis Niu; its treasurer was Steve Winduo. The presence of the Literature Department is evident in the person of Kevin D'Arcy, who was Secretary of the Union in 1985, a member of the Editorial Board, and the journal's first editor. D'Arcy was even responsible for the cover design and for several of the illustrations.[10] *PNG Writer* was a lively journal, published twice each year. It was about 70 pages long. Most of its content was in English. It featured essays, poetry, short stories, plays, interviews, and reviews with only one or two items in Pidgin out of an average 15 items. The genres were labelled and collected in sections, except for verse, which was interspersed. Reviews and interviews were generally located at the end. An academic bias in *PNG Writer* was demonstrated in the proportional representation of essays and reviews -- about half of each issue. What is encouraging about *PNG Writer* is that these essays and reviews were by the writers themselves and about PNG literature.

One interesting aspect of the *PNG Writer* is its black consciousness, evident in reviews of several African and Caribbean works. This continuing "spiritual" connection between Africa and PNG literatures had survived Beier's tenure in several ways. Joseph Sukwianomb had studied and worked in Kenya for five years. Sukwianomb authored reviews of

Kenyan writers Mwangi Ruheni, Maina wa Kinyatti, and Sam Kahiga and an essay on Ngugi in *PNG Writer* and *Ondobondo*. Charles Hood wrote a review of Aimé Césaire. In 1986, Ben Nakin and Steve Winduo returned from the Black Writers Conference impressed by the power of black organizations, committed to the new union, and to black control of editing and publishing (Nakin 68). But this black consciousness was not identical to the Black Power movement on campus a decade earlier. Rather than a political identification, it seemed directed in two ways: the first was professional achievement and acceptance for the black writer; the second was a kind of cultural affirmation. If there was a backlash in this journal, it was not anti-colonial, but directed toward the first generation of PNG writers as too elitist, too political, and not committed enough to literature. It is significant that the only older writers who contributed to *PNG Writer* were Vincent Eri (an essay about writing), Allan Natachee (poetry), Kumalau Tawali (poetry), and Russell Soaba (poetry). Eri and Natachee were always a-political. Tawali and Soaba were two of the most committed of PNG writers and two of the least systemically aligned.

The Writers Union was at pains to dissociate itself from what was generally understood as university writing: i.e., the Beier/*Kovave* school. It did this in part through forewords and editorials that sounded as though they were written for *PNGW*. The message was populist and written in clear, simple English:

> ...there is a wealth of creative talent in this country. Let's nurture it along so that PNG literature becomes a living reality; not just something which academics talk about. The best way to do this is to join the PNG Writers Union

> or to set up a branch in your school, college or home district. (Mel 1985, 2)

Mel's appeal for broad participation was echoed in D'Arcy's editorial. His pitch was very reminiscent of Roger Boschman's editorials of the early 1970s. The Union was receiving manuscripts from all over the country, so many that he could not publish them as quickly as he would like; but contributors were to be patient. D'Arcy was especially clear that *PNG Writer* was not elitist. Although the journal was based on the UPNG campus, it was to be understood as a national magazine. The journal welcomed manuscripts from provincial writers and from women. Drama, that very political genre used by the first generation of PNG writers was not at first forthcoming, so D'Arcy had plans for including articles on playwriting. But the a-political nature of his approach was clearest in the admonition that direct "political diatribe" was boring. Criticism, he suggested, might better be directed into satire and humour. In other words, the journal was conceived as yet another entry-level populist literary magazine intended to bear the full weight of forming whatever character the national literature might come to have. *PNG Writer* was less naive and more self-critical than *PNGW*, but was nevertheless its direct literary successor.[11]

II. SUMMARY

There is no reason why the appearance of a superficial PNG literary system in 1967 should have been supported by widespread acceptance of literary norms and values. Literature was a secondary activity or product of other social systems, a necessary vehicle for latter-day colonial re-structuring. Part of that political and economic process was an impulse to re-create key elements of the literary formation of European nation-states: that is, the valorization of folk culture and local history; the creation of emotionally compelling national principles; the development of a spiritually driven, or socially committed artist, etc. In PNG decolonizing literary activity resurrected this historical and imported phenomenon and distilled it down to the tension between national loyalty and ethnic identity.

Individual colonial interests adopted positions at set points along that continuum. As competing players in the power politics of decolonization, they manipulated literature according to those positions. The university-based literary system, for instance, focussed its literary activities on a rejection of colonial structures, the mission-based system on a continuation and modification of colonial structures. Relations with government agencies reflect this ideological split. Government officials, like Don Maynard of the Literature Bureau, for example, seemed more comfortable with the populist, accommodating, conservative approach of the mission-based system than he was with the aggressively elitist, critical university-based system. Even so such a tidy dichotomy does not account for the active part played by mediating agencies and crossover artists in PNG. There was a great deal of exposure to, if not open recognition of, the ideological other in the literary scene.

The university-based system was notably successful in the solid experience it gave numbers of people in research and in editing. The careers of the university writers consistently demonstrated skill in those areas. But, as chief proponent of the anti-colonial, the university-based system was most successful in establishing the idea of PNG literature on the international stage. What is more, it named itself as the seat of that literature. Ulli Beier never intended UPNG writing to be anti-colonial. So it is ironic that this change agent generated the illusion of an ideology as well as the illusion of a system. His real interest lay in the more broadly experimental and cultural. When he returned to PNG, he therefore slipped into a new slot that he had created to accommodate those interests, the IPNGS. The university-based system, which had become politicized because of Beier, followed a more middle road after he left, but retained its elitist, political aura nevertheless. This heritage has pursued all writers and institutions of the university system ever since. As its writers and remaining change agents tried to shift the normative base of the system in the 1980s, they were forced to adopt an exaggeratedly populist stance (in the editorials of *The PNG Writer*, for example) in order to negate the legends of former days. The system has consequently had considerable difficulty re-defining its own role within the larger literary scene.

The mission-based system is the least visible of the two shadow systems, not because its products were any less numerous or less literary, but because of its ideological bias. The international trade in post-colonial scholarship has historically concentrated on the anti-colonial high literatures of former colonies, with slight attention paid to folklore and a rank disinterest in the rest of literary production.[12] This political and cultural bias had often been accompanied by a flat denial of the Christian contribution to the post-colonial world. Only those mission writers whose commitment to Western aesthetics or to the nation-state seems to overshadow, or at least balance off, their commitment to Christianity, have been admitted to the literary halls of acceptability. There are, therefore, very few studies by foreign scholars on mission-based writing.

Since international attention generates better distribution, mission-based writing has remained largely invisible to all but local eyes. The gender and class disparity exacerbated by this feature of the new literary system has meant that mostly male, university-educated writers become "the writers" for the internationally recognized national literature. On the other hand, women and those men not educated at university must seek other organizations to foster and encourage their work. In PNG this has meant any institution not associated with the university: primarily the mission-system and government mediating agencies. The positive side to this situation is that most writing in the new literatures can take place outside the bounds of western criticism. The opportunity for such activities to create locally meaningful institutional structures is therefore much higher as well.

The activities of the mission-based system are interesting on yet another front. Many of its writers write for children or become journalists. Denied professional status as creative writers, they turn to the avenues which will support their training. In the educational system and in the newspaper, mission-based writers have found ample opportunity for self-expression and professional development. Any literary study of a new literature such as the one in PNG must account for this significant and largely unknown realm of literary activity. Its relevance for normative linkages is clearly important.

The best evidence that the imposed literary systems of PNG have failed to root themselves in native soil is the reaction of islanders to the decolonizing process. Where normative linkages are concerned we could look to the response by both writers and readers. However, Chapters Four and Five have focussed on writers because they are the most vocal in the realm of norms and values (Chapter Six introduces the topic of diffused linkages, where the reception of PNG literature is reviewed.) We could easily say that PNG's writers have consistently viewed their task as a kind of community service. Whichever systemic ideology the writer allied himself with, the implied notion was that writing was a tool for development and that development was the only ethical goal for the educated elite. So committed were writers to this plan that many quickly abandoned writing as a tool that was too abstract. Instead they searched for more direct means of furthering self-sufficiency of their people -- political action, government service, and so on. This tendency has dominated the entire decolonizing period, as could be expected. Only toward the end of the 1980s, with the formation of the Writers Union, does it seem to lose its power and make way for causes based on art.

It may be that whatever shape the indigenous literary system of PNG takes, its writers will continue to see their purpose in a communal context. Even so, the normative links that develop in the future have more likelihood of being relevant to local needs than was the case 25 years ago. Already there are glimmers of primacy for literary activity in PNG. The seeming victory by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the battle for literacy is one. The charges laid by the younger writers against the earlier generation for lack of commitment to writing is another. The attempts of John Kasaipwalova, Kumalau Tawali, and Apisai Enos and various theatre companies to explore pre-contact aesthetic systems and/or PNG lived experience outside of colonialism are encouraging. But the high level of participation in performance arts and in non-book culture discussed in the next chapter is most suggestive of all for the future strength of verbal art in PNG. The normative links that develop for "literature" may function using technologies very different from those used in nineteenth century Europe.

NOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

1. See K. Powell (1979, 32) for a fuller outline of the position taken by university-based writers on the church's involvement with colonialism. Her conclusion is that, although critical of its practices, most of these writers remained at least emotionally tied to the Christian church.

2. Librarians refer continually to the African university and the instant library (See Holdsworth and East). Linguists refer to Africa -- mainly to Swahili (See G. Smith 1968 and Rainer Lang); educationists refer to African community schools (See Weeks 1975; H. Nelson 1966-67; Katahanas in Brash and Greicus); literature teachers and critics refer to African texts and criticism (See Brash on Soyinka in Hamasaki; Beier 1978 Discussion Paper). These are only a small fraction of the deluge of African examples in UPNG intellectual life during decolonization. Mission references to Africa have been noted earlier.

3. The energy transferred from the Literature Department to IPNGS when Beier, through the political influence of Kiki and Somare, established that institution in 1974.

4. With the exception of the short-lived deal with Jacaranda, PNG writers have never been able to interest off-shore publishers like Heinemann in establishing a stable publishing venue. Nor had UPNG ever had the funds to publish creative writing as have several African institutions like the Université de Yaoundé, for example. I realize that most African writers are published locally and have exactly the same frustrations as PNG writers. However, the sustained interest by some international firms and large institutions has guaranteed African writing a presence on the world scene that PNG writers (in fact most South Pacific writers) have never achieved.

5. Ideally this discussion of literary silences should be placed in both missionary (Chapter Four) and university (Chapter Five) sections. However, since the people who were most vocal on this issue spoke from the university-system, I have placed it in the university (Chapter Five) section. In earlier chapters I have tried to give an indication of the ebb and flow in

the tide of literary fortunes for both systems. Readers should understand this section in the light of those comments.

6. For a more detailed if still fragmentary discussion of the intellectual life generated by the tensions between the Bulls (Somare, Oala Oala-Rurua and others at the Administration) and the Apostles (Hannet, Kasaipwalova and company at UPNG) see K. Powell 1979; Liyong 1976; Kasaipwalova 1976; and Goodwin 1977. A complete examination of this particular set of literary relations has yet to be undertaken.

7. See Greg Murphy's 1980 introduction to Kasaipwalova's *Sail the Midnight Sun* for a more complete account of this development in PNG aesthetics.

8. I have been unable to determine whether the IPNGS Discussion Paper, "The Artist's Struggle," was from 1975 or 1976.

9. See especially the reviews in 6.1 (1985): 101-102; 5.2 (1984): 61-62; and 5.3 (1984): 58-59.

10. D'Arcy was a writer himself, contributing to Web Books Supplementary Reader series.

11. The Writers Union fell apart again towards the end of the 1980s. Jack Lahui told me that he opted out of it because "the women" began to take over: i.e., it got feminist and political. In the spring of 1993 there were renewed efforts to put the Union together on less political lines.

12. In other former colonies, ethnically-based literary subsystems using vernaculars, fall into the same category, of course.

CHAPTER SIX

LITERATURE IN A NON-LITERATE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION: DIFFUSED LINKAGES

Milton Esman's Institution Building theory describes diffused linkages as the final step in the transfer of institutions during decolonization. Diffused institutions are those which successfully establish relations with the general public. Where literature is concerned, diffused links indicate public acceptance. The existence of publishers, bookshops, libraries, newspapers and radio networks may demonstrate such acceptance. However, their presence does not guarantee the widespread reception of literature as aesthetic. The previous two chapters have demonstrated that the normative links for PNG's literary institutions have been, to say the least, problematic. This has meant that, although the mechanisms for diffusion are present, the aesthetic message does not transmit.

Even though literature has managed to establish some credibility relations in PNG, it is clear that the final development of literature in PNG may chart a course very different from that followed by the literatures of Europe. In PNG, for example, "literature," is heard on radio, acted on stage, told and danced at festivals, and debated in the newspapers, but it is seldom read. Should we choose to view these diffused links from a European optic, we might call them incomplete. However, we might do better justice to whatever shape indigenous PNG literature follows, if we accept that these modes of diffusion and reception have their own logic which may contribute to the formation of some uniquely Papua New Guinean system of the future.

II. LIBRARIES AND BOOK COUNCILS

A. Libraries and Decolonization

Viewed as a whole, the library system in PNG is still largely in the control of the expat population. This should not be surprising, since very few islanders read. Furthermore, librarian training in PNG has been a sometime thing. Senior administrators and librarians, as a result, are generally not native to the country. Despite its shallow roots within the indigenous population, Harold Holdsworth has reported that PNG was the first South Pacific country to appoint a National Librarian and to establish a National Library Service (NLS). In 1975, when Holdsworth reviewed the system, he considered it to lead the region in library training, bibliography and regional documentation (6).

The library system is based in Port Moresby where the first reading room opened in 1914 and the first organized library system in 1936. The base of the current national collection was the personal library Hubert Murray bequeathed on the condition that it be made available to the people. Murray had a fine collection of expat works on Melanesia. The basis of UPNG's New Guinea collection had a similar genesis in the donation of a private collection of antiquities and New Guineana by G.A.V. Stanley (Buick 1968, 67).

The NLS in PNG operates as a distribution source, as an advocate, and as a cultural reservoir. Sir John Yocklunn, PNG's first National Librarian, established a clear set of priorities for the NLS in 1975. The Service has continued along the same lines to this day. The NLS was to have as its major thrust a campaign to provide public libraries (and also school libraries) with as many books and materials as possible.[1] Although the Service was to order books centrally, its emphasis was always to be on enabling the rural library. In addition, the NLS was to maintain a national bibliography and documentation centre; develop a PNG collection; establish a central film lending library; promote literacy and local publishing and provide a small theatre for cultural activities (Yocklunn in Holdsworth 12). These were laudable goals. But lack of proper facilities and trained library personnel, coupled with extraordinarily difficult transportation problems, has meant that over half of all the country's library books rest in Port Moresby and Lae libraries.

The history of the NLS in PNG is fraught with ambivalence. In 1975 legislation was enacted to institute an NLS. A $2,000,000 gift from the Australian government for a building ensured proper housing for the collection. Service began in 1978. But in the 1975/76 budget the new Independence government cut the allocation to libraries so severely that half of the country's 24 public libraries were forced to close. There was such public opposition in the press and on the radio that the decision regarding libraries was reversed within a month (East 142ff).[2] The rocky financial road for public libraries was just beginning. With decentralization in 1978, funding for libraries was left in the hands of provincial governments. Many of these governments saw no need for libraries and consequently had no budget allocations at all. Even those areas which had libraries suffered from serious underfunding. In 1984, 17 out of 24 public libraries spent less than 5% of the minimal effort recommended in the *National Library Standards for Public Libraries*. In 1986, The Friends of NLS appealed to the government for a subsidy to improve provincial service, but the appeal was rejected (*National Library Nius* 3 [1985]). Three years later, the budget was cut again. The allocation for book buying and library supplies was down by 19%. And the amount available in the kina-for-kina subsidy scheme for Community Schools was down by 45%.

Cuts to public libraries in 1975 were accompanied by similar cuts to tertiary libraries. UPNG's budget for book purchases was slashed by 30%, Unitech's by 66% and the Administrative College (which housed the Library School) by 33%. The UPNG library was even penalized for its innovative response to the crisis. Library staff aggressively sought gifts from foreign embassies and corporations to make up the short fall. The result was that the government deducted the value of the gifts from the budget, dropping it from $90,000 to $30,000 (Buick 1971, 34-36).

Yet, despite the unwillingness of indigenous government officials to support the library system, the people within the Service have been very creative in their programmes and their advocacy. Much of this commitment and energy derives from the Friends of the National Library, a mostly expat collection of teachers, librarians, and publishers who seem willing to beg, borrow, or steal whatever it takes to keep the NLS afloat. Both the *National Library Nius* (*NLN*) and the *Friends of the National Library Newsletter* (*FNLN*) document their efforts. In the first place the Friends maintain a high political and diplomatic profile.

They make sure the wife of the current Governor-General is a Friend. And they tap all the embassies and legations for gifts of books, materials, and money. Among various other money-making ventures, the Friends give regular "mumu"[3] dinners to which the national and international elite subscribe.

The group develops programmes of cultural and educational interest for the National Library. The Village Film Show, for instance, was organized for PNG's tenth Anniversary. It showed films to 7,000 people in 7 villages. That same year, in 1985, the Friends began running a film programme over the January holiday, which included PNG films. It has been very popular (*FNLN* 11 [1986]). Other Anniversary events included a display of provincial flags and an exhibit of photos and documents (*NLN* 10 [1985]). The NLS even has a substantial collection of materials in braille, but no subscribers. So, in 1985, Friends were delegated to go out and find some blind people to use them (*FNLN* 4 [1985]).

The monthly meetings of the Friends are well attended. Visiting speakers are a regular feature of these meetings. The speakers are usually writers or specialists in literacy, adult education, and the like. In 1985 Michael Mel came in to discuss his novels. And Bob Brown, the cartoonist for "Grass Roots," made an appearance. John Kasaipwalova spoke to the Friends in 1986 on the way in which he was trying to incorporate a Trobriand aesthetic into his recent trilogy of plays. The enthusiastic response to Kasaipwalova in the next *Newsletter*, 10 (1986), suggests that the Friends were also active supporters of the performing arts. These links to other key actors in the literary system were reinforced by the NLS' success in the area of book deposit. Despite the lack of legislation, the NLS convinced Gordon and Gotch in 1987 to deposit two copies of each book they published with the National Library.[4] And it requested all PNG authors to do the same.

The Friends are most visible to the public during National Book Week (NBW), held each August. The chief activities of NBW are the used book sale and the story-telling festival. In 1986, the story-tellers included William Takaku, Sally-Anne Bagita, Kevin D'Arcy, Hiroko Tanaguchi, Cathy Melau, and Lynn Grant -- a cross-section of all parties in PNG interested in literature. For NBW in 1988, the NLS offered a "Write a Book" competition for everyone from community school students to high school students to the general public. Each age range was assigned a particular genre: legends, comic strips, poems, or plays. The prizes were...books.

Because the NLS operates under the arm of the Department of Education, it does what it can for school libraries. Although most schools have buildings designed for libraries, many of the buildings are empty. In 1986 only one quarter of Community Schools had libraries and many of those had fewer than 300 books. Most Community Schools have no budget at all for books or spend less than K100 per year. In many cases their book stock has been donated, which means that it is religious literature, or out of date cast-offs, or culturally inappropriate. The high schools are somewhat better off. They each have holdings of about 5,000 books and spend about K2,000 each year on purchases.

In 1986, the NLS tried to interest the national government in a seed grant scheme to start up libraries where none existed. And it had plans to train more teacher/librarians as well as to promote the library within the village (*NLN* 18 [1986]). The next year, the NLS was able to push 13,374 new books out to public libraries (for a total of 55,265 in extension), a 49% increase in new books over 1983 (*NLN* 28 [1987]). This achievement was very satisfying as the NLS considered its prime goal to be one of disseminating information to the people.

But with the lack of commitment by provincial governments, their efforts have never been sufficient. Both Marjorie Roe (In East 142) and Harold Holdsworth have commented on the low priority Papua New Guineans give to this imported system. Holdsworth's 1975 report stated that the NLS could only operate the rural public libraries with substantial help and commitment of someone on site. That someone was usually a teacher...the over-worked, underqualified, yet generally willing lifeline of the entire system.

The fact that libraries were slow to develop in PNG during decolonization stands in stark contrast to the strong push to develop writers. Consider that Beier and Bays had installed a full set of creative writing training courses; their former students were publishing literary journals, novels, plays, and anthologies; the literary systems they developed were offering extension courses and were organizing conferences and literature competitions before the Port Moresby Public Library had moved out of the renovated military mess hall at Ela Beach and into an air-conditioned building designed to hold a library. In fact, the UPNG Library had a similar low priority. When the first degree holders graduated in 1970, the Library had only just found permanent quarters after being shunted about for three years from one empty space to another (*NLN* 5 [1985]; Buick 1971).

Why would two such essential features of the literary system be treated in such an antithetical fashion? In East Africa, for example, the East Africa Literature Bureau had taken as its prime task the development of libraries. And this activity had been considered a necessary pre-condition to the publishing efforts of the Bureau. In PNG, on the other hand, the Literature Bureau (i.e., the publishing function) had been housed with DIES, while the NLS had been established under the Department of Education. When the Literature Bureau was with DIES, it had been a thriving operation. But, in 1975, when it was temporarily seen as an arm of the Department of Education, it had shrunk to nothing more than a vehicle for school-based literature competitions. The editorials of *PNGW* indicated the journal was becoming a glorified school magazine. Clearly the association of any literature-based system within a department that did not value literature meant atrophy and even dissolution.

Harold Holdsworth was well aware of the East African example when he wondered aloud about the future of the NLS in PNG. He advocated the Library Service be empowered to co-ordinate all activities having to do with literary production and dissemination. Rather than asking librarians to teach literacy, they might serve as co-ordinators of literary activities. With respect to book production,

> It is sensible that the National Library should be given authority, as in Tanzania, to co-ordinate the work of the various organizations, government departments and

> publishing concerns interested in encouraging local writers and in publishing their work. (18)

Furthermore, the NLS ought to be concerned with the display and sale of inexpensive locally-produced books. Librarians could produce booklists, organize book weeks and travelling exhibitions, start up bookmobiles and so on. The NLS might even become involved in the formation of a National Book Council to assist publishers in evaluating manuscripts. He concluded by providing the example of Kenya, which had 41 indigenous publishers. Their existence, he claimed was made possible by the East Africa Literature Bureau which had stimulated the commercial industry by showing that locally published materials were profitable (18-20).

In his 1976 report Holdsworth was suggesting what Roger Boschman and Jack Lahui had each proposed at different times for the Literature Bureau: that a central government agency be given both the proper range of functions and the financial ability to establish the institutions of a literary system. The entire proposal was never implemented. The NLS therefore continued to operate as a middleman between the two shadow systems, but without the power to serve either of them very well.

B. Libraries and Literacy

Since the library system was so tied to the decolonization process, it was inevitable that its target clients be school children. It was equally inevitable that its holdings reflect the low levels of English competence of these children. Even the library at UPNG had to forge a complete collection geared for a high school reading level in order to accommodate the university's Preliminary Year students[5] (Buick 1971). In many respects, this young target group was the easiest to provide for. The difficulty lay in acquiring materials that were linguistically accessible and interesting for a second target group: newly-literate adults. Participation in adult education is a feature of the library services throughout the developing world. Just how to participate was a subject of lively discussion in PNG during the 1980s (*NLN* 10 [1985]).

The NLS took its position in adult education seriously. In 1986 it purchased the 1,000 item library of the South Pacific Appropriate Technology Foundation as part of its programme of developing a resource bank for these clients. Holdsworth understood this situation and advised librarians of NLS to choose materials for both vocational and recreational interests that were appropriate to rural life. In his opinion, libraries were not to be stocked with western escapist literature. Since the new government wanted to bind people to the land, their libraries should not contain literature that would make people dissatisfied with their lot. In Holdsworth's view, the only indigenous readers for "sophisticated literature" were likely to be the educated elite (8).

The involvement of the mission system in NLS programming for adult illiterates was significant. Indeed, the mission system was an important proponent of libraries throughout the country. The United and Anglican churches, for example, had sent their considerable archives to the Library at UPNG.[6] The pages of *READ* magazine were peppered with articles like D.C. Smith Jr.'s "Libraries...The Publisher's Best

Friend" (6.1 [1970] 24-26). These articles not only identify the library as a crucial participant in any literary system, but give practical advice to missionaries on how to establish and maintain one. SIL members had delivered literacy seminars to Library Studies staff as well as to librarians and teachers at most other tertiary institutions (East 140-41). As part of his recommendations for NLS Holdsworth had discussed the usefulness of a functional literacy newspaper. But given the quality of *READ* as a journal and the power of SIL as a clearing house for literacy information, Holdsworth recommended the NLS work closely with these institutions (18-20).

In 1975, Holdsworth recorded that 75% of the clients at the Port Moresby library were expat. Of the 25% indigenous clients, most were children (8). The situation persisted for years. As a means of combatting the problem of low indigenous readership, several Friends organized a campaign in 1983 called "Buy Your Child a Book for Christmas." It was part of a general move throughout the South Pacific (and initiated by UNESCO) to establish National Book Councils. Kevin Walcot reported in 1984 that a PNG Council was being formed. At first the Library Association was sponsoring it, but Walcot hoped the Council could break free in order to be open to the general public as well (39). So successful was this group that by 1988 they had achieved some status in administrative circles. The 40 (1988) *NLN* described the Council as comprised of members interested in book production and literacy. The Council itself was engaged in formulating national policy and acting "as a forum for consultation between government and the private sector" (2). Wep Kanawi, Secretary for the Department of Personnel

Management, had even told the group that the government recognized that a healthy book publishing industry was:

> a vital requirement -- so far ignored -- of economical and social development. It [was] essential also if Papua New Guinea [was] to become a 'reading society' and take full advantage of the benefits such a society [could] bring. (2)

Two years later, NLS was extremely active in promoting the UN's International Literacy Year. In trying to make literacy materials available throughout its system it concentrated on Tok Ples books, on rural loan schemes and on storytelling and bookdrops to villages. The idea was to get as many resources out to target groups as possible (*NLN* 46 [1990]). It might be cynical to associate this turnabout in official policy with the funds made available by the UN for International Literacy Year, but the change was at the very least, fortuitous. As a source of diffused linkages, then, the NLS has been as much part of the shadow literary systems in PNG as the other institutions discussed earlier. For much of its history it has been propped up by expat resolve to serve expat needs. The system is well-designed, but hollow without indigenous readership.

III. BOOK CULTURE IN PNG

While the library service in PNG has staggered through two decades of benign neglect, the publishing industry has had no encouragement at all. There is, in fact, no commercial publishing industry in the country even now. Books have suffered the most. What little publishing occurs has been short-lived, under-funded projects by CCA, IPNGS, UPNG and the like. Very occasionally ancillary projects have been undertaken by the PNG representatives of Australian firms like Robert Brown or by local printing presses. Neither have the Christian presses been able to develop or sustain viable secular book publishing. This failure of the two shadow systems to fully diffuse themselves has not resulted from a lack of booksellers. There are about 30 bookstores in the country. Six of them specialize in books, while the rest operate as newsagents, religious bookstores, general stores, and so on (Haas 54; Stephenson n.p.). These outlets generally accommodated local writing. For example, in 1970, *Kovave* was available at Books New Guinea, Post News Agency, and the Christian Book Centre in Madang for $1/copy. However, these outlets rely not on the sale of indigenous creative work, but on the demand for imported materials like Australian periodicals, American comics, and assorted religious texts.

The blocks to the establishment of functional diffuse linkages in PNG lie in other directions. In the first place, the lack of copyright legislation is debilitating. Although legislation was in place in 1979, it could not be implemented until PNG signed an international copyright convention (UNESCO. *Book Development* 1981, 14). This has not occurred for several reasons. PNG is a net importer of books, films, and music. Most of its schoolbooks, for example, originate in or are routed through Australia. Shipping and handling charges are inordinately high. The government is therefore financially burdened with providing schoolbooks at two or three times the rate paid by governments in the United Kingdom or Australia for the same product. Adding the cost of participation in a copyright convention would make use of this foreign material impossible.[7] The result is a complete lack of protection for the intellectual property of the indigenous writer and for the investment of the local publisher. Furthermore, since writing and reading are not values for PNG society as a whole, the government offers no compensatory measures for writers or for publishers.

The aggressive interest shown by Australian publishers in the early 1970s had occurred while Australian copyright legislation still covered any colonial production. Moreover, the interest had essentially been generated from very few sources. Cheshire and Jacaranda (publishers of the first two PNG books) were at one time part of the same publishing group. It was Jacaranda, for instance, that published Mihalic's *Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* in 1971. Jacaranda even toyed with the notion of establishing an indigenous house when it began Niugini Press. But where it really made money was in the school textbook business. Jacaranda provided the Department of Education with the Minenda Reading Scheme and with the Oxford Pacific Readers.

Otherwise, most book publishing in PNG was organized through the university presses of Australia National University and the University of Queensland, both of which had extensive research programmes in Pacific or Black Studies. When Australian copyright lapsed in PNG it became nearly impossible to interest Australian publishers in PNG literature. Even in their own country, they were loathe to publish Australian works without Australian Literature Board subsidies. The disinclination of the average Australian to read works by Australian writers was well-known to these publishers. The subsidy scheme was often the only way for them to make money on a home-grown product (Kenney 369). Consequently, Australian publishers would only consider publishing PNG texts if a subsidy could be obtained as well. And this was seldom the case. Although there are many retail outlets for books in PNG, other diffused links in the country were (and remain) non-existent or erratic.

Printing has been a continual problem. Except for IPNGS and Word Publishing, literary printing tends to be done overseas in places like Hong Kong and Singapore. Most shipping within the country must be by air, yet there are no postage or freight concessions for printed matter. Even shipping a printed product to other areas in the South Pacific is not profitable. Kevin Walcot reminded his audience in 1984 that the South Pacific region covers one third of the world's surface. He calculated that 60-80% of the cost of an overseas subscription to *The Times of Papua New Guinea* was postage.

All of these structural problems aside, Papua New Guineans do not read books. Kirpal Singh has several times despaired over the fact that islanders "will avoid reading a book if they can do anything else" (1983, 4). What was even worse, in Singh's opinion, was that the writers don't "read each other's works, or the works of writers from elsewhere" (4). Coupled with the "appalling lack of critical feedback" (6), Singh could see no future for a literary system where criticism and creativity did not go hand in hand. Kevin Walcot also commented that the problem in the United States was to find the gap in the market. The problem in PNG, on the other hand, was to find the market in the gap (11). Even missionaries had encountered this reluctance to read books.

David and Daphne Lithgow had discovered on Woodlark Island that they could not sell secular literature because it was "not part of the culture of the people to buy books to be read for interest or pleasure or even knowledge" (10). Ann Cates had also found that islanders would buy books only if the missionary caught them when they had just sold a crop and only if the book was packaged in an appealing format with an interesting title. Moreover, Cates found that diglot books sold better than works solely in the vernacular (1973, 10ff). The Lithgow's and Cates had all learned that islanders would buy hymns and primers of single books of scriptures, but seldom anything longer or more complex. Books take time to read. They pull the reader from family and community activities -- they are, in short, anti-social.

IV. THE NEWSPAPERS AS INTELLECTUAL FORUM

A. The *Post-Courier* and *The Times*

If book culture has not been well received by Papua New Guineans, newspaper culture has. Newsletters, newssheets and full-fledged newspapers are a vital part of every community. At the national level, three papers predominate. All are either owned by foreign interests or controlled by foreign change agents. The *PNG Post-Courier* is part of the Australian group that owns *PIM* and the *Fiji Times*. It publishes daily in English five times each week. In the mid-eighties, its daily circulation was about 22,000 (Richstad 23). The *Post-Courier* began operations in PNG under that name in 1969, although it was the result of a merger between two smaller papers from Port Moresby and Lae. The *Post-Courier* is a conservative paper, although it does attempt to represent a PNG view. While the *Post-Courier* has never taken a pro-active stance as regards the arts, it regularly reports on cultural matters. *PIM* often includes articles on aspects of PNG literary life; furthermore, *PIM* provides a steady flow of book reviews and controversy fed through *Post-Courier* channels.

For years, the *Post-Courier* has been the newspaper of prestige. As Fr. Mihalic has pointed out, the government traditionally advertised its policy announcements in the *Post-Courier* (except when an issue required genuine populist support, in which case the government would turn to *Wantok* for a wider coverage) (Mihalic 90-91). The history of *Wantok* has been discussed in an earlier chapter. *Wantok*'s penetration into the Tok Pisin market is significant, 15,000 per week. What is equally significant is the success of its sister publication, *The Times of Papua New Guinea*. *The Times* is published in English once each week and has a circulation of about 9,000. The paper has a weekly literary page with 3-4 entries per issue. This Department receives submissions from a cross-section of people: "policemen, government officers in remote patrol posts, game rangers working in forestry departments, office secretaries, workers on coffee plantations, dental health workers, as well as teachers and students" (G. Powell 1984, 90). Many of their submissions are poems. In her review of the PNG literary scene in 1984, Ganga Powell concluded that this broad range derived from group participation in the villages, where song was a popular art form included in initiation rites, courtships, funerals."

The *Post-Courier* and the *Times* serve as the populist intellectual forum for both literary systems. The letters-to-the-editor columns have waged full-scale warfare on such issues as adopting commercial radio, introducing television, and introducing censorship.[8] The letters columns have carried much of the debate over the literary drought. They hurl accusations over nepotism and corruption. They regularly summarize and analyze the arts scene. The letters sections of the newspapers (especially the *Times*) showcase indigenous criticism at its most natural level -- intelligent, lively public discourse unfettered by an imposed academic framework. Russell Soaba responded to a positive review by Joseph Sukwianomb as containing "apocalyptic insights" and then blasts the paper for getting a word wrong:

> Beyond that what *The Times* should be aware of by now is the fact that *Maiba* is a great novel, and it would indeed be a terrible crime if anyone in PNG did not even contemplate reading it. Properly. Some 50 or 60 copies will be made available shortly at the UPNG Bookshop. (Jan. 11, 1986, 10)

B. *Tutuli*: A Mission Assessment

The newspaper, in its accessible format and affordable price, may well prove to be a foundation stone for a truly indigenous literary system in PNG. It has certainly penetrated the general audience in a way books have never done. As Walcot related, 10-20 people read each newspaper that is sold. In their description of the mission-produced *Tutuli* newspaper, Pat Christian and Ann Cates suggested how appealing this format was. The newspaper was published in the vernacular and duplicated on two sides of foolscap paper. *Tutuli* was established for the Gogodalan people and had, in 1973, a circulation of 950-1,000 copies. Cates established that 15 people read every copy. Although the paper was edited by Christian, the contents -- local, government council news, church news, sports events, stories, village news, a question and answer column -- were all submitted by villagers and checked by a Gogodalan staff member.

The method of distribution was unpretentious, yet effective. Each headman was asked to put in an order for the paper, which was then distributed to the five Gogodalan mission stations. The missionaries dropped off bundles of papers at the trade store. Cates commented that the paper was especially important to tribe members who were living away from home: students, first aid orderlies, pastors, teachers (1973, 16-17). Newspapers in PNG obviously serve a function akin to that filled by the telephone and the personal letter. So long as road and other communication networks are inadequate, the newspaper should continue to form one of the strongest of the diffuse linkages for literature.

From a publisher's point of view, Ann Cates has summarized what she saw as the usefulness of this mechanism. It is cheap, yet provides a great deal of variety in a short easily accessible format. It is a good way to try out new literary texts before going to the expense of printing them. Because people can contribute according to their abilities, newspapers provide a stepping stone to creative writing and to more sophisticated kinds of reading. For the same reasons, newspapers serve as a bridge between oral and written traditions. Finally, she saw newspapers, along with radio, as the best available means for reaching a wider audience. The pitfalls of newspaper publishing are severe, but not impossible. Lack of trained editorial, production, and maintenance staff is a serious difficulty. Cates warned change agents not to fall into the trap of doing everything themselves. As far as language was concerned, she advised a triglot paper for maximum coverage of the intended audience. Most difficult of all, in Cates' view, was the question of cost. Newspapers are a luxury in PNG. In 1973 Cates calculated that, taking wage differences into account, the average PNG labourer was paying 16 times more for the *Post-Courier* than his Australian counterpart would pay for a similar paper. Therefore a publisher had to make very sure in PNG to serve the needs of the market (1973, 20-22).

Not only are newspapers a cornerstone of the current literary system's diffuse linkages, they demonstrate the most successful aspect of the mission-based system. Most of the writers to come out of the mission system have become journalists. And most of the indigenous journalists in PNG come from the mission system. This development has been noted elsewhere. In his discussion of the literary drought in East Africa, Gerald Moore noted that the mission system dissolved mostly into journalism, a phenomenon not researched by western academics. Neither, Moore argued, did the scholarly world pay enough attention to popular literature in East Africa. In these non-elitist forms, Moore felt, lay the real invention of language and image that was so often missing in the high literatures of Africa (1966, 11-15). In journalism, a writer could make a living and reach the people as well. The populist approach, as has been noted, was always the principal strategy of the mission system. When book publishing failed to serve their goals, mission-based writers turned to a medium that would. And they were trained for it. Glen Bays himself was, after all, a journalist and his writing courses were very much oriented toward that field.

V. RADIO AS THE PRIMARY LINKAGE

One medium which was used equally by both university- and mission-based systems was radio. Like newspapers, radio reaches most people in PNG. But unlike newspapers, radio has had a good deal of government support, some might say too much. The development of radio services in PNG closely follows the path of latter-day colonialism and decolonization. As soon as the second World War was over, the Australians began rebuilding in PNG. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) began service in 1946.[9] For the next 16 years, it held a monopoly in the country, serving the needs of the expat population with Australian programming. The Administration, however, was unhappy with the service it was getting from ABC. The off-shore broadcaster was not interested in providing the information network the Administration needed. The station in Port Moresby, for example, had a 500 watt capacity: just enough to serve the town, but nowhere else. Nor was ABC interested in providing programmes for non-formal education. As a means of doing this itself, the Administration initiated the Division of Extension Services (DES), which was to establish a communications network in the colony. In 1961 DES became DIES, whose purpose was to disseminate information for the

Administration. That same year, ABC refused to establish stations in rebellious areas, even though the Administration was convinced that radio stations would help stabilize such areas. In light of ABC's disinterest in colony affairs, the Administration felt no compunction in installing its own radio service. The Government Broadcasting Service (GBS) started in 1961 with 12 stations and 3 more under construction. The competition worked. Within a year, ABC began expanding its own service and in 1964 it began school broadcasts.

Gradually ABC started to indigenize its programme. Radio was popular in PNG. In the 1960s, rural people rolled cigarettes with newspapers and few had radios. Those with radios could barely pick up the short-wave signal from Port Moresby (Mihalic 91). But by the early 1970s, there were 75,000 radio sets in the country. Even so, the colonial flavour was still strong. School broadcasts were in English. Of the 13.25 hours each week broadcast for schools, 4.5 hours originated in Australia. Before 1973 ABC's total programme was targeted 30% for the indigenous population (mostly to schools), 30% for the expat and 40% for the larger community. ABC broadcast the news in English, Tok Pisin, and Hiri Motu. It eventually came to broadcast its programmes in Pidgin, simple English and 6 vernaculars and it had begun to train islanders to work at radio stations. The GBS co-operated with ABC on school broadcasts. These began at 8:45 a.m. with a quarter hour of Christian Education. The last segment began at 2:15 p.m. Some of the programmes were general, but most were geared to special subjects at specified grade levels.

In 1973, just two days before PNG became self-governing, the ABC and GBS networks ceased operations and the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was inaugurated. Since radio was the only means of mass communication in the country, it was imperative that it remain impartial. The Administration was therefore at great pains to place the NBC at arm's length so it would not seem to be the mouthpiece of the Government. Granted, NBC's primary directives were to develop national unity and to foster the *8 Aims*. But Paulias Arek, the Minister of Information, and NBC's strongest proponent in the Government, was determined to maintain a balance between NBC's independence and the promotion of government goals. An original member of the Administrative College's "Bulls," along with the now Chief Minister, Michael Somare and political "big-men" Albert Maori Kiki, Oala Oala-Rura, and Ebia Olewale, Arek knew how to manipulate the situation to advantage. He arranged the administration of NBC so that the chairman of NBC's board would also be the director of the service. So long as a strong man was in place, the Service would be able to maintain its integrity. Arek appointed Sam Piniau, a former DIES employee, to head the new Service. But Piniau felt isolated and controlled by the former ABC staff who had joined the new Commission. His answer was to indigenize the staff in a little under two years. By 1978, NBC employed 701 people, only 7% of whom were expat.

While Piniau was indigenizing the staff, he was indigenizing everything else, too. Between 1974 and 1975, the ratio of local programming to foreign programming altered dramatically. Music programming locally increased from 81% to

96%; local news from 47% to 75%; Christian programmes from 73% to 82%; drama features from 22% to 88%; extension and rural programmes from 92% to 100%; school programmes from 52% to 77%. Overall there was a shift in ratio from 67% locally produced programmes to 85% -- in just one year (Mackay 115). Part of the indigenization process was a shift to multilingual broadcasting -- NBC began reaching out to the population in 25 languages each day.

Shortly after Independence, NBC formulated its Broadcast Development Plan. It intended to provide 3 separate networks: one devoted to information and education (eventually Radio 1 "Karai" Service); another network was to be a national commercial network (Radio 2 "Kalang" Service); and the third, a provincial network (Radio 3 "Kundu" Service). Although this 1976 Plan was formed with the decentralization promoted by the *8 Aims* in mind, NBC was unable to garner Government support to implement the Plan. Finally, after months of private bargaining and public debate, NBC inaugurated commercial broadcasting in March 1977 on its own. The Government tried to defeat the move, but their motion was itself defeated in the House of Assembly. The public fears about the moral effect of commercial radio manifested quickly and NBC was forced to remove certain jingles because of their offensive content. Accordingly the Commission developed an advertising code that complied with the *8 Aims* and National Goals.

In 1980 the provincial service had been extended to 19 provinces and was decentralized at management level. The Kundu service operated from 5:30 a.m. to 8:00 a.m. and from 5:00 p.m. to midnight. Until the budget cuts in the mid-1980s, it regularly sent patrols out to record news and stories from its rural contributors. Much of this folkloric material has been stored and a great deal of it has been aired. Beier's 10 talks on the oral tradition has been mentioned above. And a 6 episode production called *Folklore of Melanesia* was aired in 1976 (*Transmitter* 11 [1976]). In 1977, East reported that NBC had the best collection in the country of music, stories, and legends[10] (East. Appendix VII, 266). Whether or not East was right, the penetration by the radio service into oral culture is undeniable. By 1981, NBC was able to split Radio 1 and Radio 2 into different networks. NBC had become the best decentralized of all Government agencies. By 1983, the NBC had 21 stations and 39 transmitters, a service uniquely comprehensive among third world nations. Despite the strong presence of NBC during the nationalistic 70s, its service was affected as much as other cultural agencies when budgets were slashed in the 80s. In 1984, NBC suffered a 25% cutback. This effectively reduced its Kundu service broadcast hours by 45% and its national service by 35%. Its equipment had become old and was not regularly repaired, and it was understaffed (*Tenth Anniversary Booklet*).

A. NBC Drama and Peter Trist

Despite its latter-day doldrums, the NBC has always been central to the diffusion of literature throughout PNG. Its success has largely been due to its use of drama. When NBC took over the broadcast facilities of ABC, it inherited only two production studios. Yet it had been asked to use drama as a means to alter stereotypes; establish national identity; service the needs of adult education and the school system; and provide a venue for creative writing. The two studios were pressed to capacity.

Problems were legion. NBC had to simultaneously train script writers, actors, and production staff. It was fortunate in acquiring the services of Peter Trist, a university employee who had been the impetus behind the UPNG Arts and Drama Society.[11] In 1974 NBC held a script writers workshop at UPNG and others later at GTC and Hutjena, on Buka Island, as well as conducting acting classes at CCA. Only one year later, it could rely on the talents of 53 male actors, 26 female, and 28 children. Furthermore, between 1975 and 1980 it received 10-15 unsolicited radio scripts each month (G. Powell 1984, 91). During this time it paid K40 for a 30 minute script and K6-8 for a 5 minute children's story (*Transmitter* 11 [1976]). Within its first 12 months of operation, NBC produced 15 original PNG plays, 26 documentary programmes and several young people's programmes (Mackay 106-107). The "World of Short Stories" at 10 a.m. Saturday mornings became a popular feature of NBC broadcasting as was Sunday night drama in many households.

But drama had been present for some years during the ABC's broadcast "day." In 1959, ABC began including drama inserts in school broadcasts. By the mid-1960s, the Commission had expanded its drama component to the point where most of its "local" input were school drama pieces. Peter Trist reported that serials like "The Magic Ukelele" and "Mountains and Islands," by Australian Alan Stevens were so popular that school children became impatient when the action was stopped for a grammar lesson. Trist felt that these programmes made possible the positive reception later accorded to indigenous writers. Finally, in 1967, Bill Nolan adapted Russell Soaba's prize-winning story "A Portrait of the Odd Man Out," for ABC broadcast. The trickle of indigenous writing on ABC turned into a flood on NBC. Arthur Jawodimbari, Sally Anne Pipi, Aloysius Aita, Rabbie Namaliu, Siwid Gipey, Rex Okona, Leo Hannet, Allain Jaria, Teloti Kaniku, Kumalau Tawali, and John Kasaipwalova all had short stories and plays adapted for radio. Although short stories and plays were the favoured radio genres, novels like Benjamin Umba's *While They were Walking Through the Dawn* and Vincent Eri's *The Crocodile* were serialized as well. Like other government agencies, NBC served as a meeting ground for writers of both systems.

Eventually, plays were written especially for the radio. Benjamin Umba's *Two Grooms for the Bride* was serialized in 5 episodes. Many of these plays were published in concert with IPNGS. According to Trist most NBC plays dealt with generational conflict (the inability of the educated younger generation and the village elders to understand or respect one another). Plays like *Not Yet a Man* by Pius Tikili; *An Educated Girl* by Christine Mateaku and *Brief Candle* by Pauline Hau'ofa represent this class of drama. Some plays dealt with political or regional conflict. *Highway* by Della Milate, a play about thieves on the Highlands Highway, was broadcast over 15 episodes. Trist notes that PNG radio writers occasionally dealt with history, but seldom with myth. John Kolia has written several radio plays that treat colonial history with irony. But the most famous of the historical plays on radio has been Albert Toro's *Sugarcane Days*, recalling the blackbirding era when men like his grandfather were taken to work in the Queensland cane fields for years at a time. Finally, Trist noted with relief the advent of comedy on radio, most of it social satire like Nora Vagi Brash's *Which Way Big Man?* and John Hemugu's *The Sins of Magistrate Minabe*.

These plays were all written in English, but NBC produced full translations of most into Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu. Once the translations were complete, tape transcripts were distributed to the provincial radio stations. There were, nevertheless, several writers who began to write directly in Pidgin: Golila Pepe, Albert Toro, John Kuaru Craig, Andrew Meles, Jack Bata, and John Barre. NBC has extended its presentations in Pidgin by working with Raun Raun Theatre Co. in the Highlands. NBC and Raun Raun discuss the topic and plot orally in Tok Pisin (many of the Raun Raun actors don't read English) and then the actors present a drama on "Nutrition," "How to Vote in Elections," etc., or a creative play, based on that discussion.

Trist was always careful to avoid presenting drama as an elitist occupation. In his 1978 article he outlined the aims of radio drama as entertainment, guidance and instruction. His 1982 articles demonstrated how drama could be part of the new commercial network, Radio 2. In his opinion, drama was cheap entertainment which could easily be sponsored by a single business, association, or government department. He stressed the possibilities of comedy, suspense, romance, and situation comedy on the new service. NBC was also prepared to work with outside agencies to promote drama at all levels of society. As well as teaching at CCA and UPNG and co-publishing with IPNGS, NBC was heavily involved with the planning and execution of the third South Pacific Festival of the Arts (SPFA) in 1980. Staff member Daniel Connell was seconded to the Festival planning committee for nearly two years to help with organization. PNG was expecting 1,500 performers and 5-10,000 tourists for the Festival. In a 1978 *Transmitter* article, Connell suggested NBC have a radio festival to complement the performing arts festival: live broadcasts from the SPFA itself; radio adaptations of festival plays; cultural programmes from other South Pacific countries, reviews of Festival plays, commentaries by performers; a daily calendar of events, music from the Festival; and relays in Pidgin and Hiri Motu to the provincial stations (Connell 8-9).

1. *Transmitter*

NBC took its training responsibilities as seriously as its other tasks. It established a training centre in Rabaul with Peter Trist as principal. In addition, NBC's monthly magazine *Transmitter* not only carried items of general interest about NBC policy and programmes, but tried to teach better radio techniques. It contained a letters-to-the-editor section where people felt quite free to criticize as well as congratulate. Along with news and technical articles, *Transmitter* included poetry and jokes. Its audience was not just NBC employees, but anyone interested in radio. *Transmitter* was, and continues to be, readable and interesting, as its circulation figures show. In 1982, it had a distribution of 5,000 copies (NBC. *We, the People* n.p.).

Transmitter likes to demonstrate as it teaches. In 9 (1976), it contained a complete drama script as a model of "good writing for radio in simple, effective English" (12-21). An example of a self-reliance drama was included in 14 (1977). That same issue contained a new approach to using drama in extension programmes for business awareness. Four episodes had been produced as part of an adult education project. Students were provided with an illustrated booklet containing key information. In addition they were to listen to a half hour lecture punctuated with dramatic segments, interviews, and a panel discussion. Each lecture was to make no more than 2 or 3 points. No script was written; the actors simply improvized on a situation. The Department of Business Development had found the technique effective and was recommending it as a system for use by others interested in adult education (25-29).

Although the number of unsolicited manuscripts fell off in the mid-80s, to 2-3 each month, NBC has been and continues to be a central player in not only the normative linkages of the literary system, but in the diffuse linkages as well. Criticism of NBC abounds -- from Sir John Guise complaining about the quality of the Hiri Motu translations in 1981; to Caroles Ketsimur grousing that if and when he could receive Radio 1 at all, it was patently obvious to him that NBC had abandonned it for commercial radio (269); to Russell Soaba charging that NBC promoted only issue-oriented drama (Singh interview with Soaba, 52). Even so, NBC penetrates every school in the country, more than can be said for PNG's books. As for the adult listener, a 1980 audience survey of educated townsfolk indicated that 88% of them owned a radio and 93% of those people listened to it regularly (NBC. *A Pilot Audience...1976*).

2. The Talk Show

Do uneducated adults listen to radio in rural areas? They certainly do and they participate in radio as much as possible, especially if there is a talk-back line. In an effort to encourage and criticize government, the Minister of Information had openly endorsed talk-back programmes on provincial radio stations, in 1976 ("Taureka Talks" 1,6). But these programmes had been operating for several years. Keith Jackson has reported on the experiences of talk-back in Bougainville. "Kivung Bilong Wailis" [Radio Forum] had begun in 1972 as a 10-minute question and answer segment aired 5 times each week. People wrote in requesting answers to specific questions; responses were read over the air. It was enormously popular. The first year, the station received 250 letters each month. By 1973, the project had been extended to 15-minute segments 7 times each week and was the second most popular out of 42 programmes. Jackson concluded that "Kivung contributed perhaps more than any other single programme to aligning Radio Bougainville with the needs of its audience" (6).

The success of "Kivung" prompted the station to broaden this type of programme. The information service was separated out into "Askim na Bekim" [Questions and Answers]. A telephone talk-in on pre-arranged topics, "Wanem Tingting Bilong Yu" [What do you think?] was so popular that staff could not handle the volume of calls and the station was forced to take the programme off after only two weeks. A third programme, planned but never implemented because of budget problems, was "Nau Yumi Stap We?" [Where Are We Now?]. Radio Bougainville staff were supposed to spend 1-2 days in a village recording and interviewing; this material would then be organized into two half hour programmes every two weeks. "Kivung" was axed in mid-1973 after a libel charge was threatened by a missionary whose private habits had been openly discussed on air (7). But Jackson's point is taken. The Letters-to-the-Editor and the Talk-Back show have proven more successful than most strategies in providing an intellectual forum for islanders during decolonization and after.

B. The Missions and Radio

The missions have understood the possibilities of radio in PNG as long as secular interests have. In 1946, the Christian Radio Missionary Fellowship, an independent interdenominational organization set up operations in the Northern Territory of Australia as a means of broadcasting gospel to South East Asia and the Pacific Islands. Shortly thereafter they persuaded the Australian government into granting them a broadcasting license for PNG. The colonial Administration was encouraging of this mission work. It saw the missions as part of development: in particular, the providing of schooling and medical care. Accordingly, in 1959, the missions applied to develop a radio network in PNG. Unfortunately, they could not obtain unanimous approval among themselves, so the Administration refused them. In 1961, the missions again met to forge a proposal and agreed to work together, but this time the Administration was planning the GBS, with provisions for religious programming, so it refused the missions once more (Mackay 75ff).

The result of all this internal bickering among the missions and hedging on the part of the government was that a whole series of fragmentary radio and audiovisual services developed over time among a variety of mission agencies. During the 1960s, missions in PNG operated 67 hospitals, 131 aid posts and medical centres, 187 welfare clinics, staffed 7 Hansenide colonies, 4 mission colonies, 3 tuberculosis hospitals, and 3 combined Hansenide/TB hospitals. In order to link this work together, 30 mission societies, operating over 300 stations and an Administrative Headquarters, used radio, 10 airplanes and 10 motor vessels. "The Christian Radio Missionary Fellowship also operated a School of the Air in New Guinea, the only mission field in the world to have this facility" (Mackay 75).

One of the audiovisual centres was the Centre for Audio Visual Action (CAVA), an education project sponsored by the Catholic Church. It produced sound and slide programmes for evangelization in Pidgin. Like so many of these ventures, CAVA endeavoured to pay its own way with products like a PNG calendar. Their facilities became so sophisticated that Australian film-makers used them to produce an anti-drinking film in three languages for the Government (*Transmitter* 9 [1976]).

Eventually the Catholic Church operated a Communications Institute out of Goroka, which was meant to serve the broader community as well as the Church. Its approach is indicative of PNG ecumenism in the 1970s. The Institute's general goals were to foster mass communication skills and to become self-funding by its own media productions. This meant that the Institute co-operated with NBC and many other Christian communications networks. Village education programmes broadcast 15 minutes each day, Monday to Friday. They were developed by Radio Eastern Highlands and consisted of dramas prepared by the Institute. The Institute assisted NBC with training and with graphic and printed materials for rural development programmes (*Transmitter* 9 [1976]; 11 [1976]).

The NBC had an excellent working relationship with the MCC as a whole. Aside from the NBC, the various churches had the potential for the best communications network in the nation. There was reason to believe both organizations could benefit from closer co-operation. The NBC already devoted significant air time to Christian concerns: it provided daily Bible stories in three languages; it provided the 15 minute Christian education programme each morning to schools; and a Sunday morning story hour, "Together with the Children"; it included Church and mission review and interview programmes, which dealt more with social issues than with religion; it broadcast community hymn sings, church services and Bible readings (Mackay 110; "Programme Analysis" 1976).

According to NBC's "Programme Analysis" (1976), religious programming accounted for only 4% of total programming. But a closer look at the analysis suggests the percentage is likely much higher, since religious components of programmes like Requested Music; News; Current Affairs; Announcements, and Extension are not indicated. As friendly as relations were, NBC and the churches alike felt their interests would be best served with more co-ordination. For their part the churches attempted internal association once more through the CCC, of which Glen Bays was a central figure. The NBC established the Joint Committee for Media Co-ordination and ensured churches had representation on it.

This co-operation between government and church agencies fits patterns established elsewhere in PNG. There are certain points of contact between the two literary systems that are generally effected by neutral, usually government, agencies. In the case of PNG, the NRI (Literature Bureau and the IPNGS), the NLS and NBC best represent that function.[12] In large measure, while these institutions have served the shadow systems of decolonization, they have provided structures that could easily support whatever new system(s) might emerge from decolonization as well. That is, they are not irreversibly tainted with an ideology, but are seen as relatively transparent vehicles.

VI. THE POWER OF DRAMA

No discussion of literature in a non-literate society would be complete without mention of drama. In PNG drama was used as a teaching device for every possible subject, and it appeared everywhere as entertainment. Western and indigenous dramatic techniques were employed separately and together. The same writers, actors, directors, and producers regularly crossed the aesthetic borders between the two traditions. In short, drama was the one "literary" endeavour in PNG that became professionalized.

Amateur expat dramatic troupes have always existed in PNG as have indigenous ceremonial and non-ceremonial performers. However, it was not until decolonization that islanders took part in western-style dramatic productions to any extent. The tertiary colleges were largely responsible for introducing western drama as a student activity. The importance of GTC in this regard had already been discussed. The basis of the university drama group lay in the Administrative College with the formation of the Creative Arts Society in 1969. Peter Trist approached several students to see if they would be interested in drama. They were. Kumalau Tawali, John Waiko, Leo Hannet, Ekeroma Age, Elijah Titus, Meg Taylor, Apisai Enos, Arthur Jawodimbari, and Barth Philemon formed the core of what was to become the UPNG's Arts and Drama Society. Trist reported that students found drama very appealing at first, but many trickled into other areas after they discovered what hard work drama really was.

Those who stayed were very successful. From the opening night of CAS, which included Leo Hannet's *Rod Bilong Kago*, audiences (about 600) flocked to UPNG to see plays about their own society and often performed in their own language, Tok Pisin. Trist noted that the audiences represented a cross-section of society. The students themselves were most concerned that average people have access to the campus and feel comfortable at the plays. With the formation of the CCA and eventually NTC, the site of drama moved from the UPNG itself. Many of the same players were involved though -- Trist was on the Board of NTC from the beginning, Jawodimbari became NTC's Director, and so on. But the new institutions allowed actors and directors to travel away from the urban centres. This physical enactment of the *8 Aims* was the ideological engine that drove all drama in the country (Minol 24-26; Arthur Jawodimbari 1975, 12-18; Soaba 1979, 17).

Part of the exhilaration of drama was that it had been a banned activity under colonialism. Amirah Inglis had written that during the 1920s, in the atmosphere of the White Women's Protection Ordinance,[13] public performance by natives was deemed "a danger to white prestige." Accordingly Papuans were banned from "playing long moonlight olosem government" ["mimicking the government in moonlight plays" My trans.] (In K. Powell 1979, 78). But in the 1960s the Administration allowed, even encouraged, the anti-colonial drama from the university. But because of the decades-long colonial rejection of a central aspect of island culture, expats in PNG and Australians at home had no appreciation or understanding of Melanesian drama. And many still considered it dangerous. The clearest example of this attitude lay in the mediia coverage of the first Papuan plays performed in Canberra in 1969. Ulli Beier and Al Butavicius of Prompt Theatre had arranged that the two Lovori plays and Waiko's *Unexpected Hawk* would be staged using Australian actors in brown make-up and wigs. Butavicius was a controversial producer and so his Australian audience may have been expecting political sparks to fly from these plays. Whatever the reason, the *Canberra Times* sent a reviewer to the Friday opening night. But the paper closed down early that night, something it had never before done. The review consequently appeared in the Monday paper, after the show had closed. What is even more indicative of colonial trepidation was the experience of the actors themselves immediately after the first night performance. They had driven to a TV studio for an interview, which needed to be taped twice because the first interview had contained mention of trouble on Bougainville. On the way home from the interview, the actors, still in make-up and costume, were stopped and harrassed by Canberra police until the actors revealed they were white (Laycock 54-57).

And what of the review? Australian reviewers of these performances and others in Sydney consistently preferred the Lovori plays because of the folkloric content; that is, because of their "universal" themes. Of the Lovori play, *Alive*, Katherine Brisbane wrote:

> This is the play we, as outsiders, would call the most authentic, in that its form relates much more to Asian drama than our own and it presents a very charming ethnic view of the continuing flow of life and death. (1971b)

On the other hand, Brisbane found *The Unexpected Hawk* and *The Ungrateful Daughter* to be ham-fisted. The European form did not serve the narrative voice: the moralistic tone of the plays seemed to be at odds with their native humour. Brisbane felt the representations of authority figures to be little more than caricature. Her overall assessment was that the Waiko and Hannet plays were naïve.

A. The Legacy of Ceremonial Theatre

If the first PNG playwrights used western drama without much grace, their use of the indigenous dramatic tradition was equally strained. Kirsty Powell has noted that few of these playwrights had any real knowledge of their own cultural aesthetic because of their familial attachment to the Christian church and because of their Western education. However, they were very interested in dance and took a leading part in the dance revival of the late 1960s. John Kaniku's plans for dance within his Port Moresby Theatre Company have already been noted. But Kumalau Tawali and John Waiko were interested as well. They helped organize the traditional dances for PNG Week in Sydney in 1969.

In 1971, five of the playwrights helped prepare the first Waigani Arts Festival; Kumalau Tawali arranged the traditional dance programme. This revival represented a cultural mission designed to rescue dance from static performances for tourists. Emphasis shifted from decoration to performance; from competition to entertainment; and from a blurred Melanesian homogeneity to a clear ethnic differentiation among the various dance troupes. The 1971 Festival, for example, featured John Waiko's Binandere relatives and wantoks and John Kasaipwalova's uncle, Chief Nalubutau, from the Trobriands. The effect of these "authentic" dancers on the Festival participants was electric. The students, who seldom knew their own tribal dances, were able to see the widely differing aesthetics from across the country. The Binandere performed the "Pu," a dance drama about a man and wife searching for their newly-born piglets, and the "Ewabedari," a dance evocation of sea and rock. The Trobriand Islanders performed a "Kesawaga," a stylized form that the men practised from childhood, where dancers interpreted drum language. The Manus Islanders (Kumalau Tawali's people) performed "Matcha," a plotted realistic dramatic ceremony involving dance and oratory (K. Powell 1979, 56).

Most of these oral dance-drama traditions had fallen into disuse because missionaries had banned their performance. In reviving them the young university students managed to restore most of the body, but not the soul. The "Pu," "Kesawaga," "Matcha," and others were ceremonial forms. They were part of religous ritual that was no longer practised. Their performance at the Arts Festival is evidence of this transition, where the ceremonial of one culture becomes the profane performance of another. The Binandere performances, for example, were mortuary rites. The "Matagara," performed at the third Niugini Arts Festival in 1973, had been a sacred ceremony of preparation for fishing. The magic was gone.

By 1966, only a fraction of Papua New Guineans followed native religions. Most of the playwrights had never been completely initiated into secret societies and had seen rituals only when very young. They realized that they could never live the culture in the old way. They viewed the latter-day revivals of indigenous culture by the Christian churches with cynicism. Arthur Jawodimbari told Powell: "They suppressed the midnight dances, feasts, and singsings, and now they talk about preserving our culture but it's too late" (1979, 68). In some cases, the playwrights tried to revive the religion with the form. Kasaipwalova's Kabisawali movement was instrumental in reviving Kesawaga which, in turn, revived many other half-forgotten rites and ceremonies. Kasaipwalova took years of religious instruction. But he was an exceptional case. Most playwrights learned what they could, but in a de-sacralized framework (like reading Margaret Mead).

In the mid-1970s, Powell could see no aesthetic legacy from PNG ceremonial forms. In her view the student-playwrights had not made use of the great ceremonies of PNG folk theatre -- the Hevehe, Naven, DukDuk, Valuku, Sia and Moke -- for ideas on dramatic form and technique. There were, for instance, none of the imitative animal sounds, spirit-music, mask, stock clown figures, mimetic dancing or transvestite role play. She hoped that the superficial revival of dance would eventually result in a corresponding revival in substance. Powell was convinced that the historical importance of the first playwrights would lie not only in their initiation of western-style drama, but in their role as transition figures between the oral and the western traditions. She did not live to see Kasaipwalova's experiments with Kesawaga. But latter developments in PNG drama have proved her right. The NTC has taken seriously its role as PNG's national theatre and has created several dance operas that explore indigenous forms. NTC created *Ba Oro* for the fourth SPFA in 1984. It was "based on Binandere traditional dances and the activities of the Baigona Taro Cult of the Oro Province, which had occurred in the 1870s" (Ferea 27-28).

B. The Strength of Folk Theatre

Through the institutions of amateur drama societies, school drama programmes and professional troupes, drama has maintained the highest of all cultural profiles in PNG. The early practice of sending travelling companies to every accessible part of the country, the continual reinforcement of drama by means of the Literature Competitions and radio broadcasts has given it the best developed diffuse linkages of all verbal forms. But it is not the anti-colonial university plays or the revival of ancient ritual that has sustained the strength of drama in PNG. It is the tradition of what Powell called "folk" theatre.

Powell describes this theatre as containing two separate traditions: the first is documentary and serious, enacting myth, legend, and history; the second is farcical, directed at the foibles of daily life.[14] According to Powell, Papua New Guineans have been privately performing these plays throughout the colonial period as a continuation of a much older tradition. Re-enacting and interpreting history, making fun of queer habits of people you knew and of outsiders was a way of relieving communal tensions. Many missionaries and colonial administrators have remarked on occasions when they unexpectedly encountered one of these clandestine performances. The actors and audience would immediately disperse as if nothing had occurred (Powell 1979, 76ff).

The documentary tradition often takes as its theme the coming of the missionary, the coming of the first white man to the area, or the excesses of government:

> John Kasaipwalova recalls how in 1972, after the central government had sent in riot police to curb the Kabisawali Association, people took the heat out of angry situations by turning them into drama. He notes that the three men who were jailed were especially funny in showing how police tried to intimidate them and get them to admit to burning the Council tractor. (K. Powell 1979, 74-75)

In the farces, insensitive characters are made to look foolish. The focus is not on history, but on how ridiculous life can be. The humour is scatalogical, often sexual and the situations are generally domestic: "When building a house or making a garden, the Sengam of the Rai coast act little plays on everyday subjects in order to get people working" (K. Powell 1979, 76).

Daily life under colonialism is a frequent theme:

> carriers stagger into the village under enormous loads and then in comes the kiap empty-handed and sinks wearily into his chair....some children come into a Chinese tradestore with pennies dipped in lime and succeed in palming them off as two shilling pieces, to their huge amusement [Chinese are frequently targets: their Pidgin is awful; they have bad manners; they are fat]....a policeman tries to teach new recruits to stand at attention and stand easy with ludicrous results. (K. Powell 1979, 77)

Powell's informants told her these folk plays is never scripted and that there is no European influence on either their conception or execution (74). They seem to be part of a living tradition that takes its inspiration from indigenous experience. So strong is the tradition that many of the plays sent to the National Literary Competitions are scripted versions of well-known oral popular theatre (75).

Powell felt the PNG playwrights were more influenced by this vibrant and satirical folk tradition than they realized. She sees Arthur Jawodimbari's *Cargo* as following the standard plot of the missionary documentary; the incident of the kiap and the chair was incorporated into Waiko's *Hawk*, and so on (73). But, in Powell's view, the playwrights did not take the form seriously at first. After all, it was just something people did for fun. It wasn't until after Arthur Jawodimbari had been to Africa, the USA, and Japan that he began to talk about popular theatre. In Nigeria and Ghana, he recalled, he had seen theatre performed in ordinary situations by travelling companies for a fee small enough that anyone could afford. He returned from his world tour wanting to develop street theatre, adding music, dance, myth, etc. to dramatic performance (1974, 12-13). This is what he went on to do with NTC, but it had been at his feet all along.

C. Raun Raun Theatre

John Kaniku had already accepted the folk theatre tradition years before Jawodimbari went to Africa. But Kaniku had attended GTC, not UPNG. The most famous troupe in the country to develop a contemporary folk theatre was the Raun Raun Theatre Company. It was established in 1975 in Goroka as an outgrowth of the theatre at GTC. Greg Murphy of the Expressive Arts Department has been closely involved with Raun Raun since its inception. And Raun Raun has that self-reliance and attachment to daily issues in the lives of islanders that typified the theatre at the College under Greg Katahanas, Murphy and others.

Like most of the theatre companies in PNG, Raun Raun tours continually, using the highlands road network, but ranging much further afield on occasion. Raun Raun sees itself as a popular theatre and so deals with issues of social, political, and economic concern to ordinary people. The format it most often adopts is the folk opera, although it also uses puppets, film, discussions, and so forth.

> The Company believes that folk operas will serve as a yardstick for the development of theatre in Papua New Guinea. They could help to establish policies to safeguard PNG's culture from exploitation and commercialism. (Matbob 1986, 14, 15)

But Raun Raun does not deal solely with development issues. In 1981 and 1982, the Company toured John Kasaipwalova's *Sail the Midnight Sun*, a Trobriand Kesawaga, and part of a trilogy based on epic. The Company took it to every province in PNG and to the sixth Festival of Asian Arts in Hong Kong. It was extremely popular, so much so that it encouraged many islanders to participate in theatre themselves (Pascoe 13).

In 1982, after two years of financial and construction problems, Raun Raun was able to open its own theatre in Goroka, establishing that year an annual festival to which all theatre groups in PNG were invited. It was the first time such a "convention" of local drama had happened. At the first festival were Raun Raun Isi Theatre Company from Wewak, Lae's Dua Dua Theatre, the NTC, various dance companies, as well as Goroka's Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa, who brought film screenings. In its usual entrepreneurial style, Raun Raun had raised the money for the festival from a variety of sources: NCC, the national government, the East Highlands Provincial Government, the Post Moresby Arts Council, among other sources. Its fiscal enterprise is remarkable in a country where cultural groups have traditionally relied on, and consequently failed because of, governmental commitment to the arts. In 1986, when the NTC was dissolving into various smaller provincial groups, Raun Raun Theatre remained stable. It projected a 5-year programme from 1987-91 that was to include 24 works, continuing village workshops, popular theatre, the annual festival, staff development, and so on.

The vibrance of this theatre tradition and Raun Raun's creative use of it have inspired many other companies. The Kas Theatre Group from Unitech is one. Kas was started in the early 1980s by Jeff Siegel of the Department of Language and Social Science and in co-operation with staff from Busu High School.

Their Pidgin plays are based on folktales, which are dramatized and combined with song and dance from areas known by the students. Kas takes its annual production throughout the Lae area as a means of entertaining, but also of preserving tradition. Like Raun Raun, the Kas group starts with an idea or situation which may be scripted, or not. If there is a script it is used loosely so that the dialogue is natural (Geoffrey Smith 1986; 1987).

VII. SUMMARY

Since theatre is thoroughly diffused in PNG and has a continuous tradition and an identifiable aesthetic, we could very well argue that it forms the real or original core of an indigenous PNG literary system. While change agents have been (and in some cases remain) involved, they have never been central to drama. What is more, drama has mostly managed to be self-reliant and self-interested: surely the best definition of what it is to be post-colonial. We could question whether drama, a performance art, should properly be considered as part of a literary system. (For that matter, the same quibble could be made over poetry, which is meant to be said or sung.) There is no doubt that within European culture itself drama occupies an ambivalent position between the received notion of what a literary system is (i.e., as relying on a written, creative product) and other cultural systems which do not rely on the technology of writing. When it is a question of the culture of other peoples, these distinctions between written literature and drama can be meaningless. Moreover, the insistence of western scholars on the presence of the oral tradition in the new literary systems contributes to even greater taxonomic difficulty. Whatever name we apply to the ensemble of cultural activities among other societies, the word "literature" must be understood very loosely. The willingness of PNG creative writers to draw, sing, dance, act and write is evidence of an approach to cultural matters that defies the imposition of western categories.

How then might we apply western literary theoretical formulations to the study of literary systems created by western colonialism? If the new systems are clearly created and controlled by westerners, as those in PNG during decolonization were, then western theory does apply and should benefit from studies of these peripheral activities. The notion that these are not mirror-representations of European literary systems, but specialized sub-systems created by colonialism is certainly well worth further study. However, if the system does manage to shake off change agents and agencies and to become primarily concerned with its own cultural affairs, then the application of imported theory is a dubious undertaking.

NOTES - CHAPTER SIX

1. The NLS is administered under the wing of the Department of Education.

2. East does not say **who** opposed the cuts. One can only assume from PNG reading patterns that the outcry came from *expat* library members.

3. The mumu is a kind of luau.

4. This victory is relative, since the Manager of Gordon and Gotch was a Friend, but it does set an example.

5. This Preliminary Year was installed as a preparatory year because the university had recognized the inability of PNG students to cope with university reading assignments in English.

6. Glen Bays was assiduous in sending all his files to UPNG as well.

7. No less important for the PNG government is the inclusion of patented medicine in the same convention. At present PNG can avoid paying those very high fees as well.

8. The censorship issue in PNG usually revolves around imported materials like American movies. It is a very conservative society which feels invaded by a morality it cannot willingly accept.

9. The following general history is taken from MacKay; Lent; Papua New Guinea. Office of the Minister for Information. *Reports 4 and 6: Papua New Guinea Broadcast Authority*; and Morgan. Where special information is included or cited I have noted it in the running text.

10. East's conclusion should be taken advisedly since he does not mention the archives of *Wantok*, church archives, or even the IPNGS holdings in his study.

11. Unless otherwise stated, the following information on NBC's drama programmes is taken from a series of articles by

Trist in NBC's journal *Transmitter* 21 (1978); 5 (1982); 6 (1982).

12. To this list could be added the *Post-Courier* and the *Times*, but each of these papers is understood to represent special interests to some extent.

13. This Ordinance was passed in 1926. It imposed a death sentence on any Papuan male attempting to rape or actually raping a white woman. It remained on the books until 1958. See Percy Chatterton's Review. for a summary of Amirah Inglis' book on this subject.

14. Kirsty Powell was the first (and to date the only) person to investigate this area of Melanesian culture. Since she died before finalizing her thesis, her analysis is preliminary. Her distinction, for instance, between folk theatre based on myth and ritual dance drama is a little hazy. She says that folk theatre tends to be a bit more realistic. One consideration she does not mention is occasion. This may be the major delineating factor between sacred and profane dance drama. Ceremonial theatre is, by definition, associated with particular ritual occasions; whereas non-ceremonial theatre may be performed at will.

CONCLUSION

SOME THOUGHTS ON THEORY AND METHOD AND LITERARY HISTORY

When I began this study I wanted to understand several things about new literatures and their relations to colonizing literatures. This impulse arose from the firm conviction that the time for treating the so-called post-colonial literatures as some sort of homogenous, static block was over. "Native" writers and scholars all over the globe are increasingly proclaiming difference and change in a way that makes the old Third World/Post-colonial critical and pedagogical tags redundant. Yet what strikes the observer of the last 3-4 decades of worldwide post-colonial writing and criticism is that it **is** homogenous to a very large extent. Could all colonial experience have been that similar? Could all reaction to colonial experience have been so predictable? Well, it's a tidy world if that's the case.

My reading of African and South Pacific literatures suggests that something else might account for literary genesis during decolonization, something far more complex and interesting than uncontrollable fits of anti-colonialism. On the one hand, the post-colonial literary canon is certainly and almost universally composed of texts written by male graduates of foreign universities. And their themes are largely anti-colonial. On the other hand, there are masses of texts written by women and by men without such specialized education and that are not in the canon. Their themes are mostly **not** anti-colonial. This hardly seems a coincidence. If anti-colonial (read post-colonial) writing does not represent the sum, or even the majority, of literary activity in new literatures, how did it come to play such a key role in literary history? Is it because the "committed" western scholar is only interested in reading "committed" new literary texts? How much foreign agency has been involved in creating this canon? If there has been substantial interference on the part of foreign agents, how **post**-colonial are these texts? What relevance does the term post-colonial have at all? Must the empire write back -- forever?

There is a polite fiction among post-colonial literary scholars that regards literary genesis in places like PNG as a twentieth century socio-political analogue to the "big bang" theory of physics. That is, colonized people who could no longer tolerate oppression somehow exploded into print. It is a convenient fiction that accomplishes one very necessary task: it allows new literatures some space for self-definition without the burden of second-hand status. But it is a fiction and everyone knows it. The problem is how to deal with the truth. One way of attacking that problem is to actually study colonialism and the structures it engendered. Western scholarship has been extraordinarily remiss in this regard. Dismissing colonialism with an impatient nod of our heads, most of us have been satisfied to point out injustice and then concentrate our sympathies on its victims.

Bernard Mouralis is one of the few scholars of this period of literary history to actually consider the nature of colonialism. His conclusion, that colonialism has carefully manufactured versions of European social systems to serve the needs of the new entity -- colonial society -- must be at the centre of any attempt to study the new systems. His argument means that everything "colonial" that happens in the colony relates directly to specifically colonial structures and only indirectly to generalized European ones. The focus of literary study can therefore now turn to a kind of "local" and more immediate cause for new literatures. What is more, the relations between the new literary system and surrounding social systems can also be seen as particular -- perhaps sharing some general characteristics with other colonial situations or with European systems, but in the end as self-regulating and not as merely imitative.

The wealth of non-literary studies of decolonization suggests something else. Chamberlain, Gifford, Esman and others see decolonization as a latter-day phase of colonialism, not as a distinct break. According to Chamberlain, decolonization looked revolutionary, but wasn't. In his view, its policies and programmes are best understood as a re-structuring of the colonial world to suit a new set of needs and priorities -- the establishment of satellite nation-states. The period Chamberlain describes as characterized by decolonization is suffused with the themes and strategies western literary scholars would recognize as post-colonial. If the re-structuring and transfer of the political system outlined by Chamberlain has an analogue in the literary system, then the way in which we study the genesis of new literatures must reflect that process. Furthermore, it must account for change, not autopoiesis.

I believe this dissertation bears out these two propositions: that new literatures are thrown up **by** colonialism in its latter stages and not **at** it by indignant others; and that colonial social systems are the products of particular needs and circumstances, a sub-system of European social systems. It is clear in the case of PNG that literature is the product of the colonial system itself. It was initiated and encouraged by the Administration as a special project of decolonization. It is also clear that the literary system that characterized the period is an adaptation of decolonizing literatures from former colonies in Africa. That is, colonialism looked within its own polysystems and tried to transfer certain institutions to PNG. But decolonization occurred later in PNG than anywhere else. Was this process identical in other places? Probably not. It certainly bears investigation, though. The parallels and contrasts mentioned above between Papua New Guinean, East and West African literatures indicate that the worldwide decolonizing of literature was **not** a homogenous enterprise.

If we are to view literature in PNG as cultural imposition and not as guerrilla warfare, when (if ever) can we draw the curtain on colonialism? I think the premises on which this study is based allow distinctions to be drawn between the colonial and the indigenous in a fairly discrete manner. In the first place, much of the literary activity during decolonization is directed at colonialism and controlled by foreign agents. Some literary activity ignores or minimizes colonialism and is influenced by foreign agents. Other literary activity occurs outside the purview of foreign agents altogether. Briefly, the examples of UPNG writing under Ulli Beier, GTC drama under Greg Katahanas, and PNG farcical folk theatre illustrate this range. Colonialism ends when people cease to be consumed by their response to it and when their aesthetic expression arises from internal causes.

In other words, the two decade period of literary production in PNG from the late 1960s to the late 1980s participated at one and the same time in a colonial enterprise and in a truly indigenous one. It is too early to tell whether and what indigenous literature will organize itself in PNG, but the possibilities are certainly there. The resistance to certain aspects of the foreign system (like writing long narrative prose and formal aesthetic evaluation) and the willing participation in others (literature competitions, dramatic productions, radio broadcasts, talkback shows, etc.) indicate that a uniquely Papua New Guinean system may develop. However, the continued presence of foreign change agents in some parts of the system may slow that process somewhat.

The first years of literary activity in former colonies cannot therefore be automatically defined as the beginnings of an indigenous national literature. As the example of PNG has shown, those first years may have very little to do with indigenous literary genesis. Furthermore, the literary activity may occur in more than one system. Although western scholarship tends to focus on activities around universities, the example of PNG demonstrates that other literary systems may exist as well. In PNG the missions organized a strong rival system. In other places ethnicity, class, region and the like may determine literary activity. Although Lang has observed the careful and mutually exclusive demarcations established by burgeoning creole literatures, the current study has noted several points of contact and several means of contact between the systems. Such symbiotic and exclusionary relations may occur among other "national" systems, too. Soviet studies on interlit systems may be helpful in this regard.[1]

The heavy investment in literature by governmental (i.e. colonial and pre-Independence) agencies at certain stages of decolonization is perhaps a general feature of the new literatures. The East African and PNG Literature Bureaus are evidence of a direct attempt to establish and control literary activity. What kind of structures are set in place by official bodies? How do they relate to other literary structures? How long and in what way do governments participate in the literary system? Were there other decolonizing strategies like the "literature bureau" that were transferred (or attempted) during this time? Ironically, the decolonizing tenor of western scholarship has not yet allowed frank discussion of such questions. In PNG, I discovered that the role of official bodies in the arts was hotly debated in newspapers, institute discussion papers, reports and even literary journals of the time. No doubt a similar wealth of material exists for the study of other literatures as well.

At times governmental agencies seem to be basic to literary institution and at other times they encourage primacy elsewhere. Governmental bodies can function as mediators between systems: as the Literature Bureau of PNG did, as CCA, and as the NLS did. Why is this role necessary and how do we understand its development? In PNG, the SIL seemed to function in a similarly enabling and conciliatory manner. Were these bodies necessary because the two shadow systems were so ideologically distant yet so individually frail? Do the mediating agencies serve as buffers or as links? Are they a constant feature of such systems or are they contingent on special conditions? In my view, these contact points between systems are important sites for learning.

The least understood feature of new world literatures remains the interplay between the oral and the written. It is not that there are no such relations in western literatures; it is just that western scholarship has been able to pretend orality does not exist or matter in western literatures...after all we have had printing presses for 500 years. The transfer of literature to places where orality dominates has come as an incredible technological shock to western educated critics. We suddenly have to account for a means of aesthetic expression that we have no tools for or experience with. We had happily consigned the oral tradition to ethnologists and anthropologists. Consequently, we are as ill-equipped to understand orality as most PNG islanders are to understand written literature. It seems fair play somehow. Because most western critics haven't the linguistic facility or cultural background to explore these relations, it is doubtful whether most of us will ever contribute much to this area of knowledge. Perhaps it is time for us to recognize that the critical expertise that can accommodate specific instances of such inter-technological traffic is likely to come from others. Perhaps we can relax and refrain from vaguely proclaiming the "communal," the "formulaic," or the "ritualistic" in the repertoire of new literatures.

In any event, this study of the PNG literary system indicates that orality need not inform the entire repertoire of new literatures. Most of the early writers had no connection to oral culture at all. This is a not uncommon characteristic of decolonizing literatures. John Waiko is not the only writer to consult Margaret Mead in order to invest his text with a measure of "authenticity." It is well-known that Samoan novelist, Albert Wendt, has researched his own culture for the same reasons. Canadian métis writer, Joan Crate, researched the legends of **another** native people to write her novel, *Breathing Water*. This practice of artificially re-investing the native writer's aesthetic world with "authentic" content (or even technique) adds a fascinating wrinkle to the orality shell-game.

But there may be a more fundamental link between such indigenous activity and western scholarship. There is a western-generated "romanticism" that permeates decolonization: it underscores the construction of national identities; it valorizes the native/ folkloric over the foreign/ cosmopolitan. It is fraught with ambivalence. National unity is constructed at the expense of ethnic identity. The oral/ communal voice is encouraged by a vehicle (literature) dedicated to the individual and the written. It reaches its most schizophrenic in change agents like Ulli Beier and John Kolia who adopt a "native" voice to say: "Now I am black, I am authentic and I am angry," and then switch hats (so to speak) to become the western critic: "Now I am white, I am liberal, and I hear you." This perverse romantic game is played out at every level of literary life. Off-shore western literary scholars only classify new literatures by national tags and only legitimate politically committed texts. At the same time they encourage, yet appropriate the oral tradition through translation, imitation, and so on. It is a messy business and an area of literary relations that is almost wholly untouched.

It has been the position of this dissertation that any theoretical study of new world literatures must be grounded in the particulars of those literatures, and not in half-understood generalities about colonialism and its effects. The six chapters of this dissertation are an attempt to organize the scattered information regarding the first 20 years of one new literature. The document is only loosely directed by the theoretical constructs described in the Introduction. This was intentional, as I wanted primarily to explore the data. However, the theory is not transparent. The perspectives that I have gained into that two-decade period have arisen from and been coloured by the theoretical notions I chose. Had I decided to follow Schmidt's four actant roles, I might have organized PNG literary life into fixed categories and probably would have concluded that the PNG literary system was incomplete and failed. I am not sure I would have understood how the various institutions adopted more than one role and shifted their adherence to those roles over time. Nor do I think I would have looked for networks of relations among those institutions. Finally, I am sure that had I adopted Schmidt's framework I would not have asked key questions about the way in which literature began in PNG. Schmidt's production model of literary systems has a synchronic elegance that is undeniably useful for certain applications to western-style literature. If we wish to approach existing literary systems from an actantial point of view, Schmidt's work is accessible and informative.

If our purpose is to describe intersystemic relations, literary genesis, and rapid change, Schmidt's theory is only marginally applicable in its specificity. His theory is much more suggestive when understood within the larger context of social change theory. It was when I realized this that I expanded my search for appropriate theoretical models to finally encompass the concepts developed by Esman. At the same time, I could not ignore the major contribution to systemic studies made by Even-Zohar, whose concept of interference has intrigued me for some years. Although interference established a connection between a target and source literature, I had long been uneasy with the uni-directional dominance relation that the whole notion of interference implied. How could I study the relations between established and new literatures without bringing that connotative baggage with me? One way that finally occurred to me was to adapt notions of transfer and translation that Even-Zohar himself felt should be developed. Using Esman's diachronic model of institution-building and Even-Zohar's suggestion for the possibilities of transfer allowed me to set Schmidt's actantial model in motion. I was now able to study attempts to establish those roles as well as relations among them. And I no longer had to employ the notion of interference to a situation where interference was technically impossible.

But should I bother with this gerry-rigged concoction of western theory anyway? After all, the object of study is not a European literature. Should I rather start *ab ovo* with the new literature itself? My answer is twofold. It became clear to me quite early on that I was actually studying a literary transfer and not a genuinely indigenous product. Because this phenomenon was formed on European models and dominated by European agents I felt that it was entirely applicable to consider European theory. It was even more imperative that I do this when I realized how little we understood about the role played by colonialism in the genesis of new literatures. It also became clear to me as I studied indigenous resistance to and adaptation of this system that, at some point, something self-sustaining and eminently non-European would result from decolonizing activity. It is at that point when theoretical formulations based on detailed descriptions of the new systems will become appropriate and necessary.

This last point underlines both the usefulness and limitations of Institution Building theory. Esman is careful to point out that his model is meant to apply to a chronologically prescribed phenomenon, the process of systems model transfer. Its goal is institutionality which occurs when certain relations and action patterns become normative within the organization and without. That is, when the institution has achieved support and complementarity with its environment, it has completed the process described by Esman's theory. His theory is not intended to account for anything that occurs after institutionality is achieved: i.e., maintenance or further response to innovation (25). It is a development theory designed to respond to a unique, very brief, very intense period in human history. As such I believe it has a great deal to offer those of us who are trying to understand the literary relations that were a part of that same period.

NOTES - CONCLUSION

1. See Lang 1988 and Bassel 1991.

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APPENDIX - I

DATES SIGNIFICANT TO LITERARY DECOLONIZATION IN PNG

1966 - * *READ* magazine established

1967 - * Prithvindra Chakravarti and Ulli Beier arrive at UPNG
Papua Pocket Poets series appears

1968 - * Beier begins teaching creative writing at Rabaul
Centre for New Guinea Cultures started at UPNG
Albert Maori Kiki. *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*. (first book published by an islander)

* Melanesian Institute established

* Literature Bureau created by DIES
Roger Boschman sponsors first short story competition; (subsequently absorbed and expanded by the Lit. Bureau)

1969 - * Creative Arts Society formed at UPNG
Vincent Eri. *The Crocodile*. (first novel published by an islander)
PNG plays first performed in Canberra
Kovave established

* Kristen Pres established

1970 - * Black Power group formed on campus

* Fr. Mihalic begins to publish *Wantok*
Kristen Pres advertizes its own literature competitions
Glen Bays arrives as Director of CTC
Bays establishes *Nobonob Nius*
Catalyst begins publication

* John Kaniku organizes Theatre New Guinea
Don Maynard becomes Dir. of Lit. Bureau
New Guinea Writing is established

1971 - * Beier begins to publish PNG anthologies
Beier leaves for Nigeria

* Bays organizes CWAMEL

* First Niugini Arts Festival
John Kaniku forms Port Moresby Theatre Company (becomes head of CCA's Dance and Drama School)
CCA is formed

1972 - * First generation of UPNG writers leave campus; many stop writing
First conference held on Teaching Literature in PNG
Waigani Conference theme focusses on "self-help"
Government supports notion of decentralization in 8 Aims

* Glen Bays establishes *Precept*
Bays becomes Director of CCC
Kristen Pres publishes first folklore anthologies
SIL sponsors first Pidgin category in National Lit. Competition

* Don Maynard leaves Lit. Bureau; replaced by Roger Boschman
NGW is expanded and re-named *PNGW*
Writers Day is created
Lit. Bureau tries to organize a Writers Society

1973 - * Prithvindra Chakravarti assumes editorship of PPP
Jacaranda Pub. establishes Niugini Press with Elton Brash as editor of folklore series
Tok Pisin conference at UPNG advocates use of Tok Pisin and vernaculars in PNG schools

* Bays leaves CTC and the Centre subsequently closes
SIL inaugurates first annual writers course
Last year for Kristen Pres Literature Competitions
Richard Adler succeeds Bays as Dir. of CCC
CPBA launches periodicals project

* Self-government for the colony
NCC formed with a 5-year $5,000,000 (Aus.) grant
Olaf Ruhen writing course
NBC inaugurated
Kaniku leaves CCA and is replaced by Arthur Jawodimbari

1974 - * Melanesian Writers Association formed at UPNG

* Cultural Development Act passed; CCA becomes NAS
Beier returns as Dir. of IPNGS; Institute begins to publish folklore collections
Beier establishes *Gigibori*
Jawodimbari and others attend FESTAC meetings in Sénégal; Jawodimbari encounters West African drama first hand
Roger Boschman leaves the Lit. Bureau; replaced by Jack Lahui

1975 - * Taban lo Liyong becomes Chair of Lit. Dept. (1975-1977)
Kovave stops publication
Raun Raun Theatre established at GTC

* PNG achieves Independence
NLS created to organize library service throughout the whole country
Dept. of Educ. 5 Year Plan confirms English as language of instruction
Lit. Bureau temporarily closed by government; attempts made to second it to the Dept. of Education

* *Point* begins publication

1976 - * Liyong organizes the first PNG Writers Seminar; also tries to organize a writers'union; laments the death of writing in PNG

* Lit. Bureau becomes part of Dept. of Education
1976-1980 Dept. of Educ. 5-year plan cedes discretion over language of instruction to provinces

1977 - * Chakravarti takes over as Chair of Lit. Dept.

* Lahui leaves Lit. Bureau; operations transferred to IPNGS; John Kolia presides over demise of *PNGW* in 1978
Dance and Drama prog. of NAS becomes autonomous as NTC with Arthur Jawodimbari as Director.

* Word Publishing inaugurates *New Nation* (1977-1984)

1978 - * Lit. Dept. struggles for survival when univ. resources are directed at job training; morale at an all time low

* NCC grant money runs out and finds no replacement; cultural institutions begin to suffer
Beier leaves IPNGS for Australia
John Kolia becomes Dir. of IPNGS
Lit. Comps. now organized by the Institute; they remain extremely popular
PNGW and *Gigibori* cease publication

1979 - * Bays returns (1979-81) to work at the United Church's Christian Education and Communications Centre at Rabaul

Bays establishes music workshops and cassette programme
Bays establishes *Toksave* and *Umben*

* Copyright legislation in place but never implemented
North Solomons Viles Tok Ples school project begins

1980 - * Lit. Dept. secures the third SPFA; Ondobondo poster poem series established

* Kumalau Tawali becomes Dir. of IPNGS
Bikmaus begins publication
Cuts to NCC cripple the operations of NAS; government decentralization programmes threaten to dismantle all "national" cultural institutions

1981 - * Bays leaves PNG

1982 - * The Ondobondo Club established by Chakravarti results in the publication of *Ondobondo* out of the Lit. Dept.

* Word Publishing begins to use the WEB imprint to publish PNG schoolbooks

* Andrew Strathern becomes Dir. of IPNGS

1983 - * SIL begins to hold national annual literacy courses

1984 - * Lit. Dept. reduced to 2 staff members; Chakravarti leaves Chairmanship

* Bays returns (1984-85) to edit the publications of the Melanesian Institute

1985 - * Regis Stella organizes a writers' union at UPNG; *PNG Writer* begins publication

1986 - * Prithvindra Chakravarti leaves PNG for China *Ondobondo* ceases publication a year later

* In 1988 IPNGS is collapsed with a number of Institutes into NRI; *Bikmaus* ceases publication

* Melanesian Institute continues to publish *Catalyst, Point*, and *Umben*; major efforts are made to indigenize the editing and production of these periodicals

APPENDIX - II

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Change Agents

Adler, Richard - One of the people who organized CTC and invited Glen Bays as its first Director. Adler was Exec. Dir. of Kristen Pres in the early 1970s; succeeded Bays as Dir. of CCC in 1973. Active in the every aspect of the mission system, including the formation of the CPBA periodicals project.

Bays, Glen - missionary and journalist with experience in Africa; recruited as Director for the CTC. Worked in PNG during three periods from 1970 to 1985. Responsible for first formalized series of creative writing courses in the mission system; organized the Christian writers' union and established numerous periodicals. Key figure for the organizing of Christian communications networks in PNG.

Beier, Ulli - teacher and cultural promoter with experience in Africa; recruited to teach new literatures at UPNG. Worked in PNG during two periods from 1967 to 1978. Key figure in the teaching, publication and dissemination of native writing. First Director of IPNGS; an important figure in the collection and valorization of PNG folklore.

Boschman, Roger - third Director of the Literature Bureau and editor of *PNGW* (1972-74). Responsible for expanding the profile of the Lit. Bureau with Writers Day and Literature Competitions.

Brash, Elton - teacher at both GTC and UPNG; interested in pedagogy. Edited numerous works of folklore alone and with Mike Greicus (also of the Lit. Dept.), and notably the papers from the 1972 conference on the teaching of literature in PNG.

Chakravarti, Prithvindra - recruited to teach folklore and literature at UPNG. Most stable of all literary change agents, working in PNG from 1967 to 1986. Key figure in the collection of PNG folklore, and in the establishment and editing of literary journals; organized the most viable writers' club at UPNG.

Katahanas, Greg - teacher in PNG from 1957 to mid 1970s. Taught English at GTC and originated the drama programme there. Established Theatre Six at Goroka in 1967 and was the driving force behind the establishment of Raun Raun Theatre Company. Established the Pacific Playhouse Series for drama scripts.

Kolia, John - Australian who became a naturalized citizen of PNG in 1976. Controversial figure in PNG literary life: playwright, editor, novelist, reviewer, and one-time Director of IPNGS.

Liyong, Taban lo - East African recruited by Beier to come to the Lit. Dept. of UPNG. Liyong was Chair from 1975-1977; made a valiant attempt to revive PNG writing in the first PNG writers Seminar held in 1976.

Maynard, Don - second Director of the Literature Bureau and Editor of *NGW* (1970-72); established the Bureau as a meeting ground for both literature systems.

Mihalic, Fr. Frank - champion of Neo-Melanesian (Mihalic's original term for Tok Pisin); produced its first dictionary; translated Constitution into Pidgin in 1985. Established and edited Pidgin newspaper *Wantok* in 1970.

Murphy, Greg - English teacher and editor at GTC; established *O Mama* and *Hey Now* anthologies. Actively critical of what he saw as Literature Bureau paternalism towards writers.

Trist, Peter - drama promoter, producer, director; in the late 1960s, while working for UPNG, Trist organized the first drama society there. Later, as Dir. of Drama at NBC, he was a major force in the encouragement of PNG radio drama as well.

Walcot, Kevin - Editor of *Wantok* from 1975 to the mid 1980s. Active as Dir. of Word Publishing in the promotion of Pidgin writing.

PNG Writers and Editors (Change Targets)

Enos, Apisai - prolific poet whose use of language in *High Water* is regarded as potentially formative of an indigenous poetic tradition; has worked within both literary systems.

Eri, Vincent - novelist and teacher; one of Beier's first students; his novel *The Crocodile* (1969) was the first novel to be written by an islander.

Hannet, Leo - playwright and student activist; the founder of the Black Power group at UPNG and the first playwright to gain prominence.

Jawodimbari, Arthur - playwright, director, arts administrator. One of the longest standing attachments to drama in the country. Jawodimbari succeeded Kaniku as Dir. of Drama at NAS and then at NTC. A Beier protégé, Jawodimbari studied drama in Nigeria. From the mid 1980s onward, he has held posts as Dir. of the NCC and of Cultural Affairs, among others.

Kaniku, Teloti (John) - playwright, actor, director; first islander to establish a theatre company (Theatre New Guinea). Kaniku's vision for PNG theatre was formative for the first years of the drama programme at the CCA.

Kasaipwalova, John - poet, playwright, editor, activist; author of the most anti-colonial of PNG texts, *Reluctant Flame*, which Beier published in PNG and in Nigeria. Left literature for politics during the 1970s, but has begun writing again using traditional oral forms.

Kiki, Albert Maori - Labour activist, writer, politician; his autobiography, *Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*, (1968) was the first book to be written by an islander.

Lahui, Jack - Poet and later fourth Dir. of the Literature Bureau (1974-1977); active in PNG literary life for over two decades; now directs the Literature Bureau's successor at the NRI.

Narokobi, Bernard - playwright, jurist, cultural commentator; most prominent advocate of the Melanesian Way.

Soaba, Russell - writer and teacher; one of the most committed and prolific of PNG's first generation of writers. Soaba has never aligned himself with either system. He has been influenced by the Samoan existential novelist, Albert Wendt. Soaba is best known for his two novels *Wanpis* and *Maiba*.

Tawali, Kumalau - writer and Christian activist, arts administrator; one of the most committed and prolific of PNG's writers. Dir. of IPNGS in 1980. Tawali operated easily in both systems as poet and editor. His collections, *Signs in the Sky* and *Tribesman's Heartbeat* are regarded as formative of a truly indigenous poetic tradition.

Waiko, John - dramatist, activist; one of the first student radicals on campus.

APPENDIX - III

THE POWER OF THE MISSIONS

Although PNG since Independence in 1975 has been divided into 20 provinces, the longest-standing European partition of the land and its peoples was part of a gentleman's agreement among the Protestant churches in 1890. Christian churches established themselves as representatives of European religious, civil, juridical, and medical authority long before any colonial administration was organized. The London Missionary Society (LMS) began their mission on the south coast in 1871, 13 years before the British established the Protectorate in 1884. It was only in 1899 that the area was officially carved up among the French, British, and Germans. But the unofficial division had already produced the real "boundaries" within the colony. This series of agreements among the churches was accepted by the Administration and began a cordial relationship that has persisted throughout most of this century as well. The arrangement accorded to the LMS, Anglican, Methodist, and Lutheran missions certain ethnic and geographic fields of operation unopposed by each other: a monopoly of sorts. The Roman Catholics refused to join the 1890 conference, but their influence spread rapidly under the 40 year tenure of the first Australian Administrator, Hubert Murray, himself a Catholic, who relaxed the "rules." The old-line missionaries had control of the nearby islands and the coastal areas of the main island. The Evangelical churches, which arrived in the twentieth century, generally took up the remaining territory in the Highlands, or unoccupied bits of the coast. Less respectful of the boundaries established by the old network, they contributed to its degeneration; nevertheless, the pattern had been set. Individual churches had become closely identified with particular languages and peoples, often entangling themselves in local hostilities and alliances (Forman 72-73).

Not only did the churches arrive first, they integrated the foreign religion so well into village life that the church became its focus. In the nineteenth century most of the missionaries were themselves islanders and highly respected. This fact alone enabled Christian ideology to gain a firmer foothold than it might had church agents been mainly European. Among the Lutherans, for instance, song and dance drama were used to create distinctive hymns and to dramatize biblical texts. Church choirs were (and remain to this day) extremely popular. Many pastors quickly adapted local languages and customs into church services, church architecture, and even into the church calendar. Annual indigenous festivals were used as church fundraisers. Associations based on ethnic and religous affiliation were common.

The result of the application of such strong indigenization techniques in the nineteenth century was an extraordinarily high participation rate in church life. In the case of the Anglicans, the first missionaries were Melanesians from Queensland, many of whom married local girls and remained in the community. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, who were Europeans, had little personal prestige among the peoples with whom they worked (Forman 72).

A distinctive church thus developed in nineteenth century PNG and became so integrated into the religious, social, and political lives of the converts that missionaries often had difficulty restricting church decisions to the congregation alone: the community as a whole would often adopt the pastor's rulings. Notable among the Protestant missions in this regard were the Lutherans in New Guinea, who followed the concept of the "people's" church so fiercely that whole villages would be converted at once and then often turned into large agricultural co-operatives. Membership in a Christian church became a status symbol that was both difficult to obtain and jealously guarded. The Anglicans, for instance, would only grant church membership after 1-3 years of proven dedication on the part of the applicant. So agreeable was this new vogue of Christianity that the severest punishment a pastor could mete out to miscreants was exclusion from church activities. In such closed and cohesive communities, ostracism was devastating.

The question remains -- why would any people willingly substitute a foreign belief system for their own. During the colonial period, many indigenous peoples associated the Christian church with economic power. That is, the sacred lore of the white people seemed to be the key to material wealth. Certainly in PNG, this was the pragmatic reason for conversion. And, since the missions controlled all the schooling where this lore could be obtained, education also became a high priority for Melanesians. This desire for wealth accorded with the Melanesian belief systems which held as a central value the continuance, protection, and celebration of life. Ancestors were the living dead, as death was thought to be just another form of existence. The new religion, with its promise of eternal life was therefore attractive as was its lack of sacrificial rite (i.e. you could keep your wealth intact even while praying to the deity).

Power, not truth, was the other central focus of Melanesian belief. A god had usefulness so long as he had power to vanquish foes, the elements, and so on. If a god seemed to be failing in his powers, he was simply abandonned. Ulli Beier discovered this in his relations with Sir Albert Maori Kiki. The **Hohao** boards, representative of the powers of individual divine powers had simply been discarded in the undergrowth when local belief structures had collapsed under the power of the new god. The power, or **mana**, of the Christian deity was thus interpreted by Melanesians through the filter of their own beliefs. Adopting a newer, more powerful god represented little change. Taboo, for example, seemed to be accomodated by Communion, a rite in which only a few could participate.

Finally, Melanesian culture was able to accomodate Christianity on a secular level. The power of a Melanesian "Big-Man" (leader) resided in his own ability to work hard in the gardens, fight in battle, trade skilfully, command others by his personality, attract and organize others into necessary tasks and perform magic through sorcery. It was not a hereditary position but one conferred according to ability. The Big-Man acted as a leader only when leadership was required. Otherwise, in the egalitarian Melanesian world, he lived and worked as everyone else did. This combination of the sacred and profane in one individual leader converted easily into the Christian figure of Jesus. In short, the transition from animism to Christianity was not difficult for Melanesians. In addition, the church's initial ability to accomodate Melanesian social and political structures guaranteed a smooth transition (Forman 89).

Despite the vicissitudes of decolonization, the Christian church still retains this central position in every aspect of PNG life, especially in politics and in the schools.